

# A PREFACE TO THE

KEYNGES HIGHNES.



IF I HAD NOT OF

longe tyme past conceived a sure  
truste, and great confydence, most  
noble p<sup>r</sup>ince, of your synguler ge-  
tylnes, and accustomed humani-  
tie, which dayly to the great com-  
fort of al your seruantes & subiectes, your highnes  
Declareth openly, I wolde neuer haue vsed such  
boldnes and audacite, as to exhibyte and p<sup>r</sup>esent  
this my rude w<sup>r</sup>itynge, vnto your graces mooste  
indifferent iudgement. For moche and longe I  
haue doubted with my selfe, whether hit shulde  
pertayne vnto me, other by worde or by w<sup>r</sup>ityng,  
to touche any suche matters of weyght and gra-  
u<sup>y</sup>te. For as on the one syde, many thynges mo-  
ued me to kepe silence, consyderynge myn owne  
state, condition, and degre, and how late I was  
admytted to the serupce of poure maiestye, and  
howe lyttell experte I am in matters of polycie:  
so on the other syde, dyuers thynges styrred me,  
to open myne affecte and pourpose, vnto your  
grace playnly. For moued I was moche by this  
your great and synguler humanyte, wherein as-  
monge all other princely vertues your highnes  
excellyth: moued I was also by the highe iuge-  
mente, which by the goodnes of god aboue other  
p<sup>r</sup>incis is to you g<sup>r</sup>uen, in al maters of true reli-  
gion and of iuste polycy: and aboue all moued I

8, ii.

was



was by the present state of our countrey & weighty nature of thinges pertaining to the same now in controuersy here amonge vs: In the redresse and due order wherof (as I thynke) stondeth the chiefe poynte of all princely honour, and nother in abundance of golde, syluer, nor treasure, nor yet in any worldly power, but euen as the honour of god, as moche as is set forth to mans iugement, consisteth and stonde the in the due order of all this sensible worlde, whiche with our eyes dayly we beholde, so the true honour of all princis apon erthe, resteth chiefly in the order and redresse of their commynalties, by the prouidence of god to their gouernaunce commytted, to this ende & purpose, that all theyr subiectes in con corde and vnityte may intoye suche quietnes and felicitye, as they are broughte forth vnto, by the goodnes of god and nature: so that this beinge mouyd, and reasonyng with my selfe of such thinges as pertaine to your graces honour chiefly, to the whiche I shall serue euer durynge my lyfe faythfully, I could not tēpre my selfe, nor as me thoughte in no parte satisfye my bounden duetie, excepte by some meane I shulde open myn affect to your gracious maiestie. For greatte sorowe I conceived as sone as I entred into my countrey, after my long absence and peregrination, obseruyng suche disobedience and diuersitie of opinion, as here amonge your subiectes was growynge in by corrupte iugement, to great confusion, and



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to the great breche of christian vnitie, while your grace by your high wisdom & polycpe studied to lay & stablyshe certayn groundes & foundations, to the restoryng of very true, and christen vnitie moche necessary. wherfore sone after I began with my self to reson of certayn causes & occasiōs, out of the which chieflie as it appered to me, sprang all this controuersie & disobedience lately shewid here among vs: and somewhat to consyder I began also the maner & mean howe al suche discorde and diuersitie of opinion vtterly put awaye, we myght as membes of one body, being couplyd togyther, and knytte agayne in vnitie, runne in one course and after one fashon: the whiche discourse and reasonyng, bycause I lacked comodite to open to your grace presently, I gathered in wrytyng, & so presented it vnto your maiestie, declaring therby myn opinion, and by what meane we all your subiectes with mekenes & humilite, lyuyng togyther in due obedience, myght restore and conserue this christen vnitie. This was my purpose, only in no poynt thinkyng than to haue my sentence and wrytyng abrode publyshed. And though it be so, that for the moste part suche men as be in hart most desirous, to haue their wrytinges set abrode to the face of the worlde, comonly vse this kynde of excuse, coueringe their affecte & studi of glory with one honest pretext of sobrenes and humilite, to say they wrote eyther for theyr owne exercyse secretly, or for the priuate pleasure



## THE PREFACE.

of their frende onely, wherby they auoyde and es-  
chewe al note and suspition of pride & arrogācy:  
yet to your highnes most noble pꝛince, this may  
I say truly, and without al colour affirm playn-  
ly, that at suche tyme as I pꝛesented this my wꝛi-  
ting vnto your grace at Winchester in sōmer last  
past, I thought nothyng lesse, than to publyshe  
it to the cōmon iugement, though in euery mans  
mynde the thinge to be fꝛyed I desired hartely:  
but I thought plainly, partly for bicause I iuge  
not my wꝛitynge to be of that soꝛte, which are to  
be set out to lyght, and partely bycause I se the  
world al redy with ouer many boke and wꝛitin-  
ges troubled dangerously, wherby though moch  
knowledge of the truth be opened & broughte to  
lyght, yet by lacke of discretion, and by moch ar-  
rogancy, there is growen in withall in Chꝛistis  
church a gret bzake of chꝛistiā charite: I thought  
I say playnly, & to me it appered sufficiente, spe-  
cially concernyng suche matters of weight and  
grauitie, to your hyghnes only by my wꝛitynge  
myn opinon to declare, & the affecte and desyre,  
whiche I haue long nꝛyshed in my hart to serue  
your grace withal, in some part therby to testifie.  
For syth the tyme y I haue had any resōn & iuge-  
mēt to consider the end, to the which al true sub-  
iectes ought to referre all their actes & dedes, I  
haue euer fashioned my studyes after suche ma-  
ner, that I might therby according to my boundē  
duetie, in som part serue your highnes & my cou-  
treȳ

## THE PREFACE.

tref, to the which stirred & moued I am now mo-  
 che by the time, wherein I trust to se, by your high  
 wisdom & policy, of al such abusion, as by pcesse  
 of time is growen in to our church and cōgrega-  
 tion, a hollosom, quiet, & iust reformation: wher-  
 of though the begining hath bē somwhat rough  
 and ful of difficultie, yet I truste the prouidence  
 of god, vsyng your highnes as chese mynister to  
 the same, shall at the laste, all thynges soo order  
 and dispose, that they shall procede, bothe to the  
 cōmyn quietnes of vs your subiectes in this pre-  
 sent age, & to the great cōfort of al your posterite.  
 So y<sup>e</sup> as wel for the steping of the one part of su-  
 che disobedience, to be conceyued in the hartis of  
 som other of your subiectis, which might mini-  
 ster a great occasion to the plāting of the rote of  
 a sedition, as for the tēpering on the other part of  
 a blynd & an arrogant opinion, lately conceyued  
 by lyghtnes of iugemēt, which might bring in a-  
 mong vs moche confusion, I wrote this thinge,  
 declaringe therby vnto your highenes, what I  
 thought in the mater, and how as I sayd before,  
 bothe I my selfe was affected, and howe at the  
 leest I wold wyshe the hartis of your subiectis  
 after like maner to be instructed: for y<sup>e</sup> which cause  
 I conceyued this exhortation vnto your people,  
 instructing thē to suche obedience as is dewe to  
 your pricely authozite. This was my purpose at  
 y<sup>e</sup> beginnyng & ful intent, nothing lesse hauinge  
 in mynd, as I before recyted, then to publishe the  
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## T H E   P R E F A C E

thyng abrode to the world: but now siſhe it hath  
 pleaſed your grace moſte noble pꝛynce, by your  
 highe wyſedome and moſt indifferent iudgemēt,  
 the thyng to apꝛoue, whiche I haue wꝛitten, and  
 by your goodnes it to accepte and alowe, I ſhall  
 not feare to ſet it foꝛthe to the cōmon redynge &  
 indifferent iudgement of your ſubiectes openly,  
 nothyng dyſtruſtyng, but that by the gracious  
 goodnes of hym, who gouerneth al, it ſhall thus  
 appꝛeued by your graciſ authorite, in ſome part  
 helpe, both to reſtoꝛe & confirme here among vs  
 true obedience and chꝛiſtian vnytie, wherby we  
 al your true ſubiecies, beinge obediente to your  
 hyghnes, as to our ſupꝛeme heed vnder Chꝛiſte  
 here in this churche and congregation, ſhal both  
 in this age liue in perſyꝛt quietnes and tranquil-  
 lite, and herafter alſo, to them that ſhal ſuccede,  
 leaue a quiet cōmon wele, to the cōmon comfoꝛte  
 of all our poſterite, and at the laſt with heuenly  
 vnite atteine & inioy with our heuēly hed Chꝛiſt,  
 the onely hede of the vnyuerſal churche, euerlaſ-  
 ting felicite. This hope I haue faſtned i mi hart,  
 nothing doubting at al, but y ꝑ goodnes of him,  
 whoſe pꝛouydence hath oꝛdeyned your grace to  
 reigne in our tyme, lighting your hart with ſuch  
 knowlege of truthe, as few other chꝛiſtian prin-  
 cis haue in our daies, ſhal inſpire in to your moſt  
 noble mynde, the ryght iudgement of all conue-  
 niēt menes, wherby your highnes the better may  
 the ſame trueth ſet foꝛth to his honour & gloꝛy.

# TO THE REDERS.



FOR BECAUSE I HAVE here  
 folowynge somewhat moze bze-  
 ly than the nature of the thyng  
 dothe well suffre, compzised and  
 gathered vnto the people a cer-  
 tayne instruction, whereby they  
 myghte the better be induced to suche vntie and  
 obedience as is of theym mooste iustely requi-  
 red: I shall mooste Chzisten reders, here in this  
 prologue, open vnto you a lyttel moze at large,  
 what is the nature of this obedience and vntie,  
 to the whiche we be so straptly bounde bothe by  
 goddis lawe and all good ciuilitie: and touche  
 also somewhat the cause whiche hath chiefly mo-  
 ued me to the concepyng of this mattier and  
 purpose. But here in the begynnynge to the in-  
 tent the thyng may the better be percepued, I do  
 you require a lyttelle to lyfte vp your eies with  
 som consideration, to wey with your selfe in som  
 part the diuine power, wysedome, & prouidence,  
 thoughe the thyng fully to conceue farre sur-  
 mounteth all mannes witte and imagination.

And fyrst this is open and manifest, that al this  
 sensible worlde, wherein is conteyned this won-  
 derful varietie and nature of thingis, is nothing  
 els but as a certayne shadowe of goddis good-  
 nes and diuinitie, or rather a glasse of the diuine  
 maiestie, wherby to mans iudgement and capa-  
 citie is opened, the infinite power, and wonder-  
 full

The prou-  
 dence of god,

Gen. 1.

Psa. 18,

A

full



## TO THE READER.

full wisdom of hym, who by his hyghe prouidence gouerneth and ruleth all. For whether so euer you cast your eyes, other aboue vnto heuen, there beholdynge that heuenly body in his sinceritie, other here benethe vnto the erthe, there considerynge of nature the wonderfull varietie, you shall euer see, of that power and prouidence in euery thinge mooste certayne argumente and sure testimony. Wherof I thynke no man canne doubt, who wyth any consyderation, lokynge into this glasse, there standeth in meruayle and admyzation. For fyrst there shall he see the infynyte nombze & multitude of sterres euer keepynge their certayn course and mouyng without al instabilitie, there shal he se the son, the mone, with all the other planettes waueryng abrode, nowe to this parte of the worlde, nowe to the other, to the comforte and creation of all mortal thynge subiecte to corruption: there shall he see the wonderful vertue and influence of the same, by the whiche as by chiefe instrumentes the goodnes of god worketh al thinges. Here in the lower worlde garnyschyng it with this varietie, wherein standeth all naturall beautie. yf, & yet ferther, yf he into this glasse diligently loke, there shall he see, of the foure elementes, of the fyre, the ayre, the water, and of the erthe, the mooste meruaylous nature, so knytte by dewe proportion in a certayne equalitie, that though they be by nature mooste dyuers and full of contrarietie, yet they are

are colwpled and ioynded togyther, as it were in a natural concoorde and vnitie :there shall he see the erth, as foundation and ground, susteyning the reste, hangynge in the myddes after a wonderfull maner, and about the same the see continually rollynge, with his certayne and sure ebbingynge and flowynge after a strange fashon, giuinge to mans wytte no smal cause of meruayle and great admyzation : and fynally to say, there shall he see of all beastes, fyshes, and fowles, the meruaylous nature and pꝛopꝛietie, by the which all, the diuine power spredeth her goodnes, accordyng to the nature of thinges and their capacite: so that to hym who so euer into this glasse diligently dothe loke, may remayne no doubt of this heuenly wysedome and pꝛouydence, wherof in euery thinge here in this worlde sette forth to goddis honour and gloꝛye, appereth so sure tokē and so certayne signe, for in euery thyng shyneth the image therof, euery thing here is a glasse of the same. And to me this thinge, considerynge & reasonynge with my selfe of the goodnes of god and of his pꝛouidēce, though the thinges befoze touched mynister therof sure pꝛofe and sufficient argument, yet it appereth, that nothyng more clerely declareth the same, than mans actis and fashon of lyuynge here in policie, all be it many men haue taken thereby greate argument to the contrary, in so moche, that whan they haue sene many men longe to contynue in worldly ioy and



T O T H E R E D E R S .

prosperitie, whome they haue iudged most woꝛ-  
thy of al aduersitie: and contrary, other of great  
perfection & vertue to be oppressed with al wꝛet-  
chednes and myserie. This I say, whā they haue  
sene, they haue playnly thought, no pꝛouidence  
to be noꝝ gouernance of god, but all to be leste to  
mans wyl and tyꝛanny: To the whiche opinion  
they slypped, foꝝ lacke of iugement and good cō-  
syderation: foꝝ who so euer weyeth mans actes  
groundly, and of his lyfe the hole pꝛoces, he shal  
fynde moſte manifestly, and by reasone shal be  
conſtrayned playnly to confesse, that this highe  
pꝛouidence is not onely declared by ſuche dedes  
and actes of man, as appere to the woꝛlde to be  
good and vertuouſ, but alſo moche moꝛe by o-  
ther, whiche ſeme peſtilent and pernicious, and  
to all vertue contrarꝑ. Foꝝ this ſemeth to be a  
certayne trueth and ſure, that euen lyke as god  
by his infinite goodnes, theſe erthequakes and  
general fluddes, by the whiche many cities and  
hole nations oft tymes be ouerflowē and ſonke,  
euer tourneth to the good oꝛder of the reſte, and  
conſeruatiō of the holle in a naturall tranquil-  
lite: ſo vice reygning in mans lyfe foꝝ a tyme, ye  
open warre and ſeditiō, his goodnes cōuerteth  
to the ſettyng foꝛthe of vertue and to his honour  
and gloꝛy. Foꝝ ſuch is the nature of that infinite  
goodnes, that nothinge it wyl ſuffre vtterly to  
be yll, but out of al imperfection and vicious ef-  
fectes, oꝝ moꝛe truly to ſay, vicious defectes, his  
good:

Matthel. 10.  
Pſalmo. 138.  
Iſai. 40.

goodnes pyketh out euer some good. As by example, this thinge to declare, this dyuelyshe nature of the dyuell, who aboue al other thinges is moste pestilent and pernicious, the goodnes of god bleseth to good, as to driue man by fere at the lest to flee from synne and wretchednes, and his crueltie and malyce he bleseth also to declare his iustyce and ryghtwysenes, as by the miserie of vice he driueth man oft to the loue of vertue, and to conceyue the felicitie therof: lyke as he dothe many tymes, by sycknes of body and aduersitie, brynge man to helth and prosperitie, and by the tyranny and wretchednes therof, he induceth mā to perceyue the nature of good polycie, and of al quietnes and tranquillitie restynge in the same. Euen lyke as by blynde and folyshe superstition he styreth ofte tymes man to folowe syncre and trewe religyon. And thus all thyng, whiche appereth in māns lyfe to be playn yll, & viciouse, his infinite goodnes turneth to good: and out of all thing he pyketh som good. For if there were any thing which by nature were yll, than were not he infynite goodnes, the which without cōtradiction can suffre no ylle. Wherfoze playnely to saye euen as I thynke, these thynges whiche to the worlde, and to the common iugement of manne seme ylle and moste pestilent, of the goodnes of god, and of his highe prouidence, minister vnto men most sure argument. The whiche thyng I haue here nowe touched to this purpose & ende,

Gen. ii,

A.iii.

that



# TO THE READER.

that where as many men nowe adapes, considering the state of the Chyristen polycie vexed with so moche sedition and heresie, feare moche to see shortly therof great ruine and decaye, I wolde haue them to alter that opinton: And to stande fully in this perswasion, that this diuysion by sectes and contrary opinion, reigynge amonge chyristen nations, the goodnes of god shall turne to his honour and gloxie, and to the setting forth of his true religion, the whiche longe and many a day hath ben by simple superstition moche obscured and hydde: ye and though it were so that in folyshely fleinge this superstition, we shuld a whyle slyppe into the contrary, that is to say, the contempte of religion, yet I doubte not but the goodnes of god in tyme conuenient, wolde reduce vs at the laste to the meane, and bying vnto lyght the knowlege of his true religion, as he hath done in al tymes from the beginning of the world vnto this day, by lyttel and lytell euer drawing mans wekenes to the true waye. And this maner with vs I dout not but that his goodnes wyll vse nowe in these dayes, and so inspire and gyue lyght to the hartis of his chyste flock, that they all with con corde and vnitie shal to his wyl be obedient moste mekely. This hope and truste I haue fpyred in my harte, wherwith I moche comforte my selfe. And though there be here in our nation growynge in, a certayne diuision, by corrupt iugement and false oppinion, yet I trust we

We shall not so farre slpye from goddis prouidence, that it may take among vs any such rote, whereby shall sprynge any sedition, or of good and ciuile order any ruine or destruction: but contrary, if we as members of one body, runne all together after one fashion, I trust at length surely it shall minister a great occasion, to the setting forth of Christis trewe religion. For the which cause nowe, I haue conceived this lyttel instruction, exhortynge our people to vnitie and obedience, the lacke wherof in the state of Christendome hath bene a great cause of moche diuision, and specially in the countrey of Germany, where as by the folythe auoydng of superstition they haue slipped into greatte disorde and sedition, whose example I trust shall be to vs a spectacle, ministringe vnto vs no small instruction, specially if we consyder groundly the cause and foundation of all their controuersie and sedition, the whiche doutles, rose of thinges in no poynt necessary to mans saluation, but about ceremonies and traditions, to the which many men blynded by superstition, leaned none other wyse, thanne to Christis worde and gospel, they dydde not discern with ryght iugement, betwixt thinges of themself good & necessary, & other, which ar only for the time conuenient to a certayne policie, but all thinges of longe tyme receyued, by custome, & generall decree, some of them toke as goddis lawe indifferently, & som all turned vp so downe

vndis-



T O T H E R E D E R S .

Indiscretely. Wherfore suche persons as by the examination of them to goddis worde, founde therein moche abusio[n], for the reste coude not well beare, but noted them of herisie, and as mouers of sedition: by the reason wherof, sprang þat great diuision, wherby the countrey was deuided into many & diuers sectes, but now by the prouidence of god eche one spenging the folie of other, they begynne to fall vnto the meane, that is to say to Christis true religion, gyuinge to goddis worde the full authoritie, that preaching without abrogation. And as for ceremonies and traditions, they suffre as thynges conueniente to maynteyne vnitie, where as they repugne neither to goddis worde, nor to good ciuilitie: the which thyng if they had done at the begynning, they shulde not by their blyndnes haue fallen to suche confusion, nor by their folie the correction of the abuses of the church haue brought in suche a diuision. Howe be it I doubt not, but that the prouidence of god hath suffered this thinge for the institution of other, for we may as I ofte reherse, take example of that folie, and runne to gyther in one course with obedience and vnitie, the whiche if we do, we shall doubtles shortly see the prouidence of god, so worke, that out of our church & congregation, we shal be plucked vp all superstitious abusio[n]s: as contrary, if we procede in our corrupt iugement and lately growen in diuision, we shall without faile slippe to like  
confu-

confusion. For the auoydngge wherof, I haue directed to the people this rude instruction, mo-  
uyngge them to obedience and vnitie, whose na-  
ture nowe somewhat to touche, remayneth in  
the seconde place.

¶ Wherin brefely to say, this you shall vnder-  
stande, that obedience in all tymes, and with all  
nations hath euer ben reputed, the chiefe bonde  
and knotte of all vertue and good ciuilitie, and  
not onely amonge vs, whiche be of the chrysten  
flocke, lighted with the spirite of god, but also a-  
monge the gentyl philosophers, ladde onely by  
the course and power of nature, with whome o-  
bedience was euer noted to be as the mother of  
al vertue and honestie. For whan the affectes in  
mans mynd sensuall drawinge hym to pleasure  
and vanitie, be so obediēt to reson, that betwixt  
them is no repugnancye noꝛ rebellion, but reson  
euer hath dominion, leadynge man to his natu-  
rallye dignitie, than is he sette in hyghe felicitie,  
than lyueth he in perfyte quietnes and tranquil-  
litie, as farre as man may optayne in this moꝛ-  
tall lyfe full of frailtie. Lyke as contrary, whan  
reason beynge ouer runne, affection dothe reule  
by disobedience, then man, as he were fallynge  
downe out of goddis order and prouidence, who  
appoynteth reason to his gouernance, slyppeth  
into infinite misery and wretchydnes, and neuer  
entopeth tranquillitie and quietnes, but dyuers-  
ly toꝛne by dyuers desires, lacketh all comfozte

The nature  
of obedience,

Roman. 14

is

and



## T O T H E R E D E R S .

and sweetenes of this lyfe. So that by this, hit is euidente and playne, what power obedience hadde with the gentylitie: but of vs, whiche be lyghited with Chyristis doctrine obedience of another sorte is required. For our obedyence is not reuled by suche a sklender reule, as mannes reasone is, whiche is for the mooste parte soo blynded with corruption, that seldome it seeth the clere truthe withoute affection: but the lyne of our obedience is reasone it selfe, the verye worde and sonne of God by Chyriste to vs declared, the wylle of god in his scriptures opened. By this lyne and rule we must square our affection, to this al, reason and affection of man set apart, we muste be obedient, to this we must gyue faythe, sure truste, and also confydence. To stablish this obedience Chyrist was made man, the whiche bothe by doctrine and dede he mooste playnely taughte, the whiche to confyrme with many wordes, here is no place, speciallye consideringe that all holy scripture is fulle of the same, as it is to all men open and playn. Wherefore here peradventure you wyl say, that obediēce to goddis word is required: no man douteth, no man is ignoraunt therof, but whiche is goddis worde, and the trewe sence therof, vnto the whiche we oughte for to be obediēte, here lyeth the doubte, this is not vnto all menne playne: for somme menne herein saye one thyng, and some saye another, in so moche, that we knowe not  
to

Roman. I.

Heb. 5.

to whiche sense & to what thyng we shulde gyue  
our obedience, and whether we shulde rather be  
obediente to generall counsaylle, or to our prin-  
cis authoritie. This perauenture you wyl say,  
foz the answere wherof, though in the exhorta-  
tion folowynge, I haue at large handeled the  
thinge, as the chiefe mattier thereof, yet here in  
this place somewhat I wyl touche, bothe howe  
you shall comme vnto the trewe sense of goddis  
worde, and also what obedience you oughte foz  
to gyue bothe to generall counsayle and princis  
authoritie. And fyrste this you shal understand,  
as a sure grounde to the resolution hereof, that  
suche thynges, to the whiche we owe our obedi-  
ence, and are bounden vnto, other by goddis  
worde, generall counsaylle, or princis authori-  
tie, be of. iiii. sortes, and of. iiii. dyuers kyndes,  
foz other they be of theyr owne nature, good  
and profitable: or contrarpe, by nature ylle and  
dampnable, or elles indifferente, whiche of  
theym selfe be nother good nor ylle. As by an  
example, suche thynges are good, not as ap-  
pereth to mannes corrupte reason, but suche  
as be by goddis owne worde defyned, by the  
whiche rule only we muste examyne what thing  
is good with ryghte iudgemente: as to truste  
in god and in his onely goodnesse, to loue hym  
aboue all thynges, and thy brother as thy selfe,  
these with such other, expressed by goddis word,  
B. ii. are

Thynges  
good of the  
selfe,



# TO THE READER.

Things yf  
of them self.

Things of  
them selfe in  
different.

The Popes  
authoritie.

are by nature good, and profitable. As contrarye, suche thinges as by the same worde are prohibyte and forbiddē, are by nature ylle and damnable, as to distrust the mercye of god, and doubte of his goodnes, to haue thy brother in hate, or wrongfully to couete worldly riches.

Thynge indifferent I calle all suche thynge, whiche by goddis worde are nother prohibyted nor commaunded, but lefte to worldly polycie, wherof they take their ful authoritie, by the whiche as tyme and place requireth, they are sometymes good, and sometymes yll: As to eate fleshe the fridaye, & after the customed maner to kepe the holy day, to go a pylgremage, and pray vnto saynctis, these and other lyke, I calle thynge indifferent, and nothynge necessarie to mannes saluation, though they may be well bled and after a good fashyon, as I shall hereafter more at large open and declare. Amonge the which also I nombze this great matter of the popes superioztie, whiche so troubleth many weake consciences. For as I iuge it not so yll and damnable, that all our forefathers, whiche haue ben obedient therto this. vii. C. yeres therfore be damned, so I iuge it not so good, that obediēce therto shal be necessarie to them whiche shulde be saued, as I haue at large declared in the mater folowing, and opened therein fully myn opinion. But now to the purpose, this and all other lyke, whiche be not in scripture expessed by commaundement,

I note

I note to be thynges indifferent, the nature of whome is of this sorte, whiche is highly here to be obserued, that though of theym selfe, they be nother good nor yll, nor to them we owe none obedience, yet whan they be set out with authoritie, by them which haue hole rule in any kynd of policie, whether it be in the state of a prince or populare: than the people are to them bounde, ye by the vertue of goddis owne worde, who commaundeth expressely his disciples to be obedient to commune policie, whan so euer therby is commaunded any thinge, whiche is not repugnant to his preceptes and doctrine, ye and though hit were contrarie to their owne private profytte, plesure, and quietnes, ye or contrarie to a worldly rightwisenes: yet wolde he haue his disciples, and the professours of his name euer to be obedient with humilitie and mekenes, wherwith as with a peculiar mark, he hath marked his flock. And so nowe this grounde presupposed, I shall make answere to the doubttes before moued: and fyrste to them that be vnlearned, to whom I haue directed chiefly this instruction, this I wyl say, that scrupulous and exact knowlege of thinges conteyned in goddis scriptures, is nothinge so necessary to iouce them to obediēce, as is mekenes and humilitie, whiche is among many other thinges to them whiche be rude, the chiefe way, wherby they maye attayne to the trewe sense of goddis worde and doctrine. For the which cause

luc. 20,

Marc. 10,  
luc. 18,



as I thynke in the counsaile of Aece, the sume  
of our feythe, conteynynge suche poyntis as be  
necessary to euery mannes saluation, was redu-  
ced vnto certayne artycles, and so propownd in  
Symbalo, in the common Credo to all chrysten  
nations, as a thyng sufficient to be had in hart  
and mynde of all men, without ferther enserche  
or inquisition; in the reste euer grynge obedi-  
ence to the order and custome in euery countrey  
receyued with concorde and vnitie. So that we  
maye iudge, as hit appereth to me, that to the  
vnlerned people and bodye of euerye commy-  
naltie, withoute ferther knowledge, sufficiente  
hit is, euery manne doyng his office and dew-  
tie, as he is called, and by goddis prouysion  
thereto appoynted, here in this worldly polycie,  
stedfastely to hange vppon the commune or-  
der, leanyng thereto constantely, euer comforted  
with the same feythe and expectation of the euer  
lastynge lyfe, hereafter to be hadde in immorta-  
litie, & not by our owne merites, but by the mere  
benefytte and onely goodnesse of god, who to  
vs soo trustynge in hym, hath made suche pro-  
mys of his benignitie. This is the mooste sure  
knotte, as I thynke, of all chrysten cyuilitie, this  
generalle knowledge of thynges necessary ioy-  
ned with mekenes, I thynke sufficiente to the  
vnlerned people: in all other thynges, whiche  
be indifferente, euer grynge obedyence to com-  
mon authoritie, and gladdely herynge therevnto  
whiche

Rom. 12.

Rom. 13.

1 Cor. 12.

1 Cor. 12.

Titum. 3.

whiche are directed and appoynted for to preache Christis doctrine, whereby they may bothe confyrme and increase dayely theyr faythe. And where as somme of theym preache done cleane contrarie to an nother, by the reason whereof somme of you maye be perauenture brought in to somme doubt, this you shall vnderstande, that theyr controuerfies and contrarietie, for the moste parte be, concernynge thinges indifferent, and seldome of suche, whiche be necessarye to mannes saluation. wherefore thei controuerfies therin oughte to trouble you nothinge at all. For menne, the whiche are of lernynge and letters, in suche matters neuer dydde yet accorde nor agree in vniuersitie, it is ynough that they accorde in the artycles of our feythe: and as for the reste, lette theym proue theyr wyttes after theyr owne pleasure, mynde, and lybertie.

wherefore their folwe therin and controuerfies nedeth not to mynyster any occasyon of scrupulositie to the vnlearned people and rude, but euer they takynge the generalle poyntes and artycles of Christis faythe, with mekenes and humylitie, muste in the reste gyue theyr obedience vnto suche thynges, whiche be decreed & made in the common policie.

¶ But nowe I wyll speke somewhat of the obedience that you shall gyue vnto the common authoritie, and also what to generall counsaile, here



T O T H E R E D E R S .

The order  
of obedience

here bꝛiefely I wꝛill touche. And first this is sure,  
that in all kynde of polycies among chꝛisten na-  
tions, the woꝛde of god must be of chiefe autho-  
ritie, that muste haue therin the firste place and  
pꝛeeminēce. wherfoꝛe if any thyng be decreed  
contrary to that, by any woꝛldly policie, it must  
be vtterly abꝛogate and boldly disobeyed with  
al constancy. foꝛ suche barbarous tyꝛanny may  
not be suffred in chꝛisten ciuilitie: But contrary,  
what so euer is decreed in any policie, nothyng  
repugnant to Chꝛistis doctrine, and to his sim-  
plicitie, to that euer obedience is required, wher-  
in resteth a great grounde of chꝛisten ciuilitie, to  
the whiche poynt, if any pꝛiuate person repugne  
seditiously, moued by any scrupule of consciēce  
conceyued foolishly, if he may nother be bꝛought  
to knowlege by good instruction, noꝛ yet to iuste  
obedience with due admonition, he is not woꝛ-  
thy to lyue in that cōmen policie, noꝛ to be a mē-  
be therof, as one that abhoꝛreth frome all good  
oꝛder and ciuilitie. foꝛ to the obedience of pꝛin-  
cis and of all other cominen oꝛders and politike  
we are bounde, after they be ones receyued, by  
goddis owne woꝛde and commaundement. And  
suche thinges as by their own nature be indiffe-  
rent, are made therby to our saluation necessary,  
so that this remayneth a sure truth, that to al su-  
che thinges as be decreed by pꝛincely authoritie,  
to goddis woꝛde nothyng contrarye, we are by  
goddis woꝛde bound, after they be receyued and  
stably-

stablyshed: to the whiche we muste gladdely be obedient with humilitie, ye though they be contrary to suche thynges, as be propounded by generall counsell and assemble. For the which this is to be obserued, that though counsell generall and vniuersall assemble of all chrysten nations, be a thyng not necessary to the conseruation of Chrystes fayth and doctrine, for as moche as it was conserued in his most purytie almoste. v. C. yere, withoute any suche congregation: yet for bycause it was of wise men and politike brought in, to the auoydying of schisme and heresie, and stablynge of chrysten vnitie, I thinke it not to be reiected. For as it is gret superstition and playn folie, to iudge it necessarie to mans saluation, ye and a great token of infidelitie and of dystruste in the goodnes of god, who hath promysed to al men in al places, and at al tymes, eternal saluation, when so euer & where so euer with faythful trust they cal for the same: so it is a tokē of great arrogancie, and lacke of chrysten humilitie, hit vtterly to refuse, whan so euer hit is taken as a collation, and a conferryng to gether of lerned men for the inuention and trialle of the truthe, concernynge suche thinges as pertayne to religion, as hit was at the fyrste institution, at the whiche tyme the thinges dyuen out by counsell generall, were of none authoritie, vnto the time that princis in euery nation dyd receyue and stablyshe them in their countreys, by the consent of

The nature  
of generall  
counsayle.

Matt. 7.



the same, as it is euident by diuers lawes imperi-  
al, by the which such thinges as were conceived  
in counsell generall, were authorisid & confyrmid.  
Wherfoze to cōpare these authorities to gyther,  
with doute of pzeemynēce of the same, it is small  
reson. For as moch as such thiges as be propou-  
ned by general counsell & assēble, be of none autho-  
ritie among the people in any cōtrey, tyl they be  
confirmed by princely power and cōmon counsell.  
Wherfoze this foloweth surely, that the same au-  
thoritie may suche thynge reiecte, whan tyme  
place and other occasion, that doth require with  
good reason: This therfoze semeth to me a sure  
conclusion, that rather we ought to gyue obedi-  
ence to that thynge, whiche is decreed by comon  
authoritie in euery nation, then to such as is pro-  
pounded by generall assemble & vniuersall coun-  
sell. For suche thinges are but counsels in dede,  
and bynde no man, tyl they be by common con-  
sent receyued, the whiche euer by the same maye  
be also dissolued, and specially touchynge suche  
thynge that are indifferente, the whiche at the  
fyrste counsels were euer omittid and left to the  
order of worldly policie: but after that the see of  
Rome toke this heed ouer al chrysten nations, by  
lytle & litel in general assēbles, they began to de-  
fine & hādle thinges ptaining to y<sup>e</sup> worldly poli-  
cy, for the mainteining of y<sup>e</sup> pompe & arrogancy,  
the which they atteyned to by p<sup>r</sup>ense of religion.  
Wherfoze the counsels succeding the same heed,  
smelled

smellid therof, & sauorid moch of worldly vanite,  
 but if they had cōtinued after þ firste institution,  
 only medlyng with þ interpretation of scripture  
 & thinges ptayning by necessite to mā's saluatiō,  
 I thinke to this day no chriſtē prince noꝝ nation  
 wold in any point haue made to thē any cōtrary  
 cōstitution: but nowe sith that popes in general  
 cōſels, cōtrary to the oꝝder of þ same, haue med  
 led with maters ptaining to worldly policy, mer  
 uayl it is not to ſe, princis decre cōtrary, to whose  
 oꝝder touchinge thinges indifferēt, the people in  
 euery natiō, are moze boude, thā to such thinges  
 which ar but only ppounded as cōſels i general  
 cōſels, & vniuerſal cōgregation, as ſhal appere  
 moze largely hereafter: & this cōcerning obediēce  
 here in this pꝛeface to be obserued, to thē þ be vn  
 lerned I think sufficiēt, & as foꝝ thē þ ar lerned,  
 they knowe how to answer to this matter better  
 thā do I. How be it I wold cōſel euery man ler  
 ned in scripture, whose cōſciēce is troubled with  
 any ſcrupuloſite cōceiued by any thing decreed by  
 cōmen authoꝝite, here in our coūtre, wel to wey  
 the thing, wherwith he is troubled, with diligēt  
 exaiation therof, whether it be vpon a groūd ne-  
 cessary to mā's saluation, oꝝ els vpon a thing in-  
 differēt: & aboue al to be ware, & diligētly to take  
 hede, þ nother by authoꝝite of mā, pceſſe of time,  
 noꝝ cōtrary custom, he ſuffre not him ſelf ſo to be  
 blinded, noꝝ deceiued by ſiplicite, þ he with right  
 iugemēt cā not pōder goddis woꝝd indifferētly:



T O T H E R E D E R S .

**Luc. II.**

**Matth. II.**

**Luc. 18.**

and where as he fyndeth cōtrouersie or gret difficultie, to trye out the true sense of goddis word and doctrine, in his scripture taught: lette hym with a meke harte come to hym, of whom cometh all heuenly lyght, who hathe promysed to all men neuer them to fayle, whiche mekely demande of hym the knowledge of truthe with ardent affecte inſerchynge the ſame: for mekenes is the only way and the ſtrayt gate of the entree to Chriſtis miſteries. For except we baſe our ſtomakes full of arrogancie, we can not conceyue the ſweetenes of that heuenly ſimplicitie, wherof meke hartes onely and humble are part takers. For as to pride & arrogancy Chriſt euer reſiſteth, ſo to lowlynnes and humilitie, his grace euer he communeth, that he exalteth and ſetteth in high dignitie, euen as pride, he euer depreſſeth and putteth vnder foote. Soo that by this gate we muſt entre, whiche fewe men fynde, yf we wyl folowe hym, and to the myſteries of his doctrine take the true way: for excepte we be as chyldren lowely and meke, without all corrupt affection, there ſhall to vs be no gate open, to byynge vs to his kyngdome and heuenly perfection. This is the trewe trace, wherin he muſt treade, who ſo euer fruitefully wyl ſeke the true ſenſe of goddis worde, the whiche who ſo entreth, doubtleſſe ſhall fynde, to ſuche ſcrupule of conſcience a ſynguler remedy, without ſerther expectation of general counſel and decree: & neuer ſhal fere to giue obedience

diſcience to ſuche thynges as be decreed by cōmon  
 authoritie, ſpecially ſeing they touche only thin-  
 ges indifferent, nothyng neceſſary to our ſalua-  
 tiō: as I thinke it ſhalbe euident vnto al the, who  
 wyl thzoughly rede and indifferently weye ſuche  
 thynges, as I haue gathered in this lyttell In-  
 ſtruction: and than I ſhal not dout, but that we  
 ſhall runne all togyther in one courſe in chriſten  
 vnitie, whiche ſhortly to touche ſtandeth in this  
 poynte chieſely. We muſt conceyue if we wyl be  
 true profeſſours of Chriſtis doctrine, a certayne  
 bzotherly loue ethe one towarde other, iugynge  
 our ſelfes to be bozne of one father, nouryſhed of  
 one mother, membzies of one body, hangynge of  
 one heed, lokynge for one reward, prompyſed vn-  
 to vs, lyuynge to gyther in this vnitie. We muſt  
 thinke that our mayſter Chriſte diſcended down  
 from the boſome of his father, to ſtablyſhe this  
 concozde and vnitie, in the hartis of all theym,  
 which purpoſe to be inheritours with him in his  
 kyngedome of heuen euerlaſtyngely. We muſte  
 thynke, that by this onely is the way to immor-  
 talytie, the whiche if we doo, I doubte not, but  
 that all ſuche diuiſion as hangeth ouer our hee-  
 des, whiche myght bzinge in confuſion into this  
 our countrey & polycie, we ſhal ryght wel auoyd  
 and eſchewe, lyuinge together in due obedience  
 and perſyt vnitie. For the which I ſhal not ceſſe  
 to pray vnto hym, who hath prompyſed ſurely to  
 gyue the lyght of truthe to all them, whiche de-

C. lii.

mande

Chriſten  
vnitie.Iohan. 13.  
Galatas. 3.

Iohan. 17.



Matt. 21.

maunde it mekely. And the same I shall requite  
of you all, to whom it shall chaunce to rede this  
instructiō, and of this to make a sure cōclusion,  
that if we with mekenes and humilitie, faythful  
loue and charitie, seke out the true sense of god-  
dis woꝛde diligently, we shal surely it fynde, and  
suche lyght therof receiue, that though we neuer  
here of pope noꝛ cardynall, noꝛ yet of coun-  
sell generall, yet shall not we be de-  
stitute of suche truthe and lyght  
as is necessary to our salua-  
tion. But here I wylle  
make an ende, and  
trouble you with  
no longer  
pꝛeface,  
cemyttinge you to the in-  
struction, foꝛ fether  
declaration.



# AN EXHORTATION TO the people, instructynge them to Unitie and Obedience.

*By Tho. Starkey.*



**S** IT IS TO AL OTHER  
creatures, by the power of God  
brought forth into this world, na-  
turally giuen by his goodnes to  
desyre their ende and perfection,  
the which they be ordeyned vnto,  
so it is to the nature of man, who of al other here  
in erthe is mooste noble, and of dignitie mooste ex-  
cellent, as he that is with reasone indewed, the  
mooste heuenly thinge, wherof bodily creatures  
and erthly, may be parttakers, by the whiche as  
by the chiefe instrument, he may seke and inset-  
che al conuenient meanes, wherby he may attayn  
the better to suche ende and perfection, as by the  
goodnesse of god to hym is appoynted: and all  
though this desyre be to all mankynde common,  
and euer hath bene of what religion so euer they  
be, yet we mooste, chrissten people, whiche be of  
Chrystes flocke, and lyghted with the spirite of  
god, make pfeccion of his name, aboue al other  
ought to be therof mooste desirous, as they which  
haue by the singuler benefite of god, a moze sure  
knowlege, & a moze sure ground, to leane vnto, then  
any other people in erth, for we haue the expresse  
& manyfest doctrine of god, by the whiche we are  
taught and instruct the streyght and sure waye,  
to the



Chyſten ſe-  
pcitie.

Ioan. 17.

Act. 4.

Galat. 3.

Rom. 13.  
Philipp. 2.  
Timoth. 1.

to the attaynyng of our felicitie, the whiche ſtā-  
deth nother in worldly honour, plesure, noꝝ high  
dignitie, no noꝝ yet in any ſecrete knowledge of  
ſubtyll philoſophie. Foꝝ than it ſhulde not be cō-  
mon but to fewe, and the multitude of chyſten  
people ſhuld be excluded from it: But accoꝝding  
to the hole courſe of the doctrine of our moſte lo-  
uyng maſter Chyiſte, it reſteth only in faythfull  
loue and charitable vnitie. This teſtifieth our  
maſter him ſelfe, in his goſpel by his own woꝝde,  
commaundyng vs aboue al other thing in this  
charitable vnitie, to be coupled and knytte togi-  
ther, none otherwyſe than he is with the eternall  
father in diuinitie. To the which agreeth all the  
pꝛocesse of the doctrine of Paule, the trew inter-  
pꝛetour of the mynde of Chyiſte, who euer exhoꝝ-  
teth vs, as we be membes of one body coupled  
to our heed Chyiſte, ſo with faythful loue of him  
to lyue to gether in this charitable vnitie, which  
is the ende as he ſaith of al pꝛeceptes and lawes,  
as the thyng wherin ſtandeth the perfection of  
a chyſten mynde: from the whiche no manne of  
what ſtate oꝝ degree ſo euer he be, at any tyme is  
excluded. Foꝝ this pathe is open to all men that  
wyl it ſeke, whether they be poꝝe oꝝ ryche, yong  
oꝝ olde, ſpyke oꝝ hole, this way they maye entre.  
And by this way to their perfectiō & felicitye they  
maye attayne: of the whiche dere frendes you  
may highly reioyce, gyuing thanks to the good-  
nes of god, who by our maſter Chyiſte hath ſo

Decla-

declared this way, & so indifferently opened it to  
 vs al without exception of any person, or prefer-  
 ment of any certayn kynde of lyfe or degree, that  
 no man there is, but he may be parttaker of this  
 perfection and felicitie. For as dere is he to god,  
 that is a plowman or labourer of the erthe, as is  
 the moſte royall kyng or prince in his high ma-  
 teſtie, if he loue his maſter Chriſte with no leſſe  
 affecte than doth he. As dere is he to Chriſt who  
 is a cobblar, as is the greateſt philoſopher, if he  
 with his ſimplicite, haue no leſſe truſt in the pro-  
 miſſes of god, than hath he with his hyghe phi-  
 loſophie. As dere is he to god, who is a marchāt  
 abroad in the worlde trauayllynge for his lyfe, as  
 is the monke in his cloyster moſte religious, yf  
 to the worde of god he gyue no leſſe truſte in his  
 trauaylle and buſynelle, thanne dothe he in his  
 tranquillitie and quietneſſe. And in concluſion of  
 what ſorte, craſte, or condicion ſo euer man be,  
 though in this polityke life and worldly, there be  
 great diuerſitie, yet befoze god, who loketh into  
 the harte, there conſiderynge the ſure fayth and  
 truſte in his promyſſe and worde, there is no re-  
 garde of perſon nor degree: but to all propoꝛtio-  
 nably accoꝛdynge to their faytfull loue and cha-  
 ritie, he gyueth his hygh rewarde and eternalle  
 felicitie. This is a ſure and ſtable ground of our  
 trewe religion: this is the comforte of all faith-  
 full hartes, of this reioyſe you, moſt chriſten peo-  
 ple, in this fyre your hope: & you ſhal ſynd therein

Rom. 3.

Ephc. 6.

Coloff. 3.

Rom. 12.

D

great



# AN EXHORTATION.

Corinth, 12.

great and inestimable quietnesse. Leane to this anchoꝝ, and you shall easly passe the stormes of this worlde: stable this in your hartes, and in the myserable and wretchyd state of this lyfe, shoyt and transytoꝝie all aduersitie you shal bere with equall mynde and righte patiently. Foꝝ to him that hath vnfaynedly Chꝛiste pꝛinted in his harte, and is armed with the fayth and sure loue of him, who gouerneth al by his high pꝛouidēce, all worldly aduersite, which cometh not to him by his owne negligence and faut, is to hym toꝝned into ioye comfoꝝte and playne felicitie: and this is the greatestt benefyꝝte that mans mynde may receyue here in the erthe, of the doctrine of Chꝛiste, of the whiche benefyꝝte euery man desyꝝreth to be partaker: foꝝ euery man desyꝝreth quietnes of mynde, euery man iugeth therin to rest all felicitie, there is no mā so madde and so without sence, that aboue all thinge in his harte desyꝝreth not to inioye and imbꝛace this quietnesse and tranquillitie. Wherfoꝝe dere frendes this appereth to me a thyꝝnge moꝝte meruaylous and wonderfull, to see vs all, soo desyꝝuous hereof, and soo fewe to take the streyghte waye to the attayꝝnyꝝnge of the same, but ledde by bypathes, somme by bayne pleasure, somme by ambition, and somme by curious knowledge, and cloyked superstition we runne to our owne ruyne, plaine myserye, and destruction.

In so moche that sommetyme whan I do con-  
syder

syder with my selfe the nature of manne, and his  
 excellent dignitie, he appereth to myne eye, of  
 all other creatures moſte wretched and myſera-  
 ble, who by the goodneſſe of god beinge ordey-  
 ned to ſo hye felicitie, by his blynde folye falleth  
 to ſoo manyfeſte miſerye. For the whiche cauſe,  
 though I haue many tymes with my ſelfe in a  
 maner lamented the ſtate and condicion of man,  
 who ſo lyghtly ſlyppeth frome his dignitie, yet  
 neuer moze than nowe of late I haue bene con-  
 ſtrayned to the ſame, by the reaſone of a greatte  
 blyndenes raygnynge amonge vs, here in our  
 countrey, wherby this charitable vnitie, in the  
 whiche reſtethe our felcitie, and quietneſſe of  
 mynde, is greattely broken and diſſolued, by the  
 whiche blyndeneſſe this ſpirytualle bodye, this  
 churche of Chriſte, wherof we be all membres,  
 yf by trewe and faythfull loue we be knytte to  
 our ſpirituall hedde, is diſſeuered and in ſondrye  
 partes deuyded and rent. For what vnitie maye  
 there be iudged to reſte amonge theym, where  
 as that one eſtemeth an nother to be an heretike,  
 or at the leaſte a ſcysmatyke? What chriſten con-  
 corde and vnitie maye in thoſe hartes repgne,  
 where as one iudgeth an nother to be a foolyſhe  
 Pharifee, or a ſuperſtitious papyſte? one to be  
 of the newe faſhyon, and hym to be frantypke:  
 and an other of the olde, and hym to be foolyſhe  
 blynde and diabolike. Howe may theſe myndes

Ephc. 4.

D. ii.

with



Corinth. 1.

The founda-  
tion of Chri-  
stis church.  
Matt. 16.

with such iugementes one of an other in loue be knitte to gether, and be of one sentence in Christ, the which aboue all thyng Paule dothe require: Howe may such myndes be as it were members of one body? how may they receyue the lyght of the spirite, whiche be in spirite so diuided? vndoubtedly by no mene: for there Christ doth not reigne no more than light in darknes doth shyne, where as is nother con corde peace nor vnitie, wherein is grounded al christen policie: For vpon this faith-fulle vnitie and loue in Christe, and vppon this charitable fayth in him is buylded Christis church, and this is the stone, wher vpon it was first founded: This is the rocke, wherby it is sustented: this is the key, whiche shal make open to vs heuen gatis, against the which nothing may preuaile. Wherefore frendes considerynge that this vnitie is the principalle grounde of all Christen life, which semeth in som part by our own blindness lately to be broken here amonge vs, to the entent we may somewhat the better amonge our selves, by the grace and fauour of the holy spirite of god, of whom cometh all vnitie, both restore and conserue the same with quietnes and tranquillitie, I shall nowe at this tyme fynde gether certayn causes of the dissolutiō and brake of this vnitie, and so afterwarde adioyne certayn meanes, whiche by the goodnes of hym that gouerneth al, may in some part helpe to the restitution of the same, that so consequētly we as members  
of

of one body, by spirituall loue coupled to gether and knytte to one heed, may at the last somewhat the better attayne to our felicitie. This processe I wyll vse.

Howe be hit in the fyrste begynnynge this you shall vnderstande, that I canne not by wordes most chysten people, declare vnto you the sorowe of mynd, which lately I haue conceyued by a common blyndnes, here reigntyng among vs, which taketh fro me in a maner al sweteness of lyfe, the greife wherof is greater than I can expresse, and the cause why brefely I shal by your paciēce, first in some parte touche, bycause hit is somewhat to my purpose: I haue all my lyfe hitherto, for the moste part, gyuen my self to the study of letters, occupiēge my selfe in dyuers kyndes therof, both in secular studies and in holy scripture, but euer referrynge all my labour and peynes to the knowlege of Chyste, as to the ende, of righte to be proposed to all chysten myndes: haupng this hope & comfort euer befoze myn eies, at the last to employ my labours take in the same, here in my natyfe countrey, to some vse and profyte therof. This was the thynge that made all my labours euer to seme lyght: and this hope was euer the chiefe comforte of my mynde: for bozne we be al, and brought forth of nature, not only to lyue as brute beastes do, seruyng the bodye, but suche gyftes of mynde, as god of his mere goodnesse hath gyuen vnto vs, to employe echeone to the

Galat. 6.

D.iii.

profyte



# AN EXHORTATION.

profyte of other, and so to lyue in perfyfte ciuilitie. This ende I euer looked vnto: This was the chiefe comforte I hadde in this worlde, and as me seemeth no smalle comforte to anye honeste mynde. But nowe frendes sythen I am lately out of Italy, where as I haue bene many yeres in studies, hyther retourned into my countrey, and haue taken somme experience of your manners here at home, I am almost, playnly to say, depriued of this comforte, I am almoste putte out of this hope. For suche blyndenes I haue obserued to reigne amonge you, suche diuision, suche disorde of myndes, that foly hit were for me, amonge suche troubled hartes to conceyue opinion to inioye this, moste despyed of all men, that is, quietnes and tranquillitie: in so moche that if it were not for the greatte goodnesse and hygh wysedome of our moste noble prince, who nothyng more tendereth in erthe, than the conseruation of this vnitie, ye and if it were not for the greatte opinion, whiche I haue euer hadde of you moste chrysten people, whom I haue obserued alwayes religious, and desyrous of truth, I shulde vtterly be putte in dyspayre, and shuld more gladdely flee from my countrey, and from your conuersation, than here to tary among you without hope and comforte of quietnes in suche tribulation, and in suche perpetuall myserie, as vndoubtedly we shalbe wrapped in, by our owne blyndenes, excepte in tyme we resiste the same.

For

For this blyndenes hathe so corrupte our iudgements, that to the corruption therof, of necessity, by the ordynaunce of god, muste folowe confusion, and of all quyetnesse and of swete chrysten lyuynge playne destruction. For the whyche cause, whatte sorowe I haue inwardly conceyued, I can not now outwardly by wordes expresse: in soo moche that if I hadde not somme hoope to tempze this sorowe, my harte coulde not suppozte the vehemencye therof, but the goodnes of our pynce greattely dothe comforte me, whome I thynke by the high prouidence of god, to be gyuen to vs in this tyme to remedye this common, and pernicious blyndenes, reynynge in vs. For daye nor nyghte nothyng his grace hath moze in mynde, than the maner and meane, to take away this blyndenes frome our hartis: and mooste lyke a chrystian pynce, no thyng he moze studyeth, thanne to conserue amonge vs, this spirituall and chrysten con corde and vnitie, no thyng he moze takethe cure of, than to remoue al suche thynges, as to his high wysedome dothe appere, to be impedymentes, or in any parte lettes or hyndzaunces to the settinge forwarde of the same, by the whiche yet somewhat I am styrted and moued to conceyue myne olde hope ageyne, to the whiche also moche moued I am by the goodnesse of your nature, mooste chrysten people, whome I perceyue to be as dilygente and studious of the truthe,  
and

Ephc. 4



# AN EXHORTATION.

and as desirous to haue knowlege of the syncre and pure religion of Christ, as any nation vpon erthe, and in no men I se to be moze prompte redynes to receyue the same, than euer I haue obserued in you. wherfoze in this parte also great hope I haue, that whan you be instruct playnly and clerely of suche blyndnes, as reigneth amōg you, right gladdely you wyll flye from the same, auoydyinge with all diligence the causes therof, & promptly admitting the remedies of the same: the whiche pourpose yf you ones conceyue and stable in your hartes, it is not to be doutted, but the goodnes of god shal set it foꝝward, and bring you out of this daungerous blyndenes, whiche nowe so reygne in your stomakes, moztified & colde foꝝ lacke of charitie.

Roman.8.  
1. Cor.3.

But nowe to the purpose, after that I haue in somme parte declared the affecte of myne owne mynde, I shall breuely touche and declare this common blyndnes, whiche reygne among vs, and so recite certayn chiefe and pꝛincipall causes, wherof the same blyndnes hath taken his foundation and grounde, to thentent that somewhat the better, suche remedies as by the goodnes of god, and pꝛouidence of our pꝛince, shal hereafter be applyed to the same, may take effecte, and bringe foꝝthe their frute, to the cōmon comfoꝝte of all christen hartes: the whiche whyle I do, I shal beseeche you paciētly most christen people, to here me, and with indifferent iudgement, by no affection

affection corrupt, to wey such thynges as I shal  
 set befoze your eyes. But here som of you perauē  
 ture shal greatly meruayle most chryste people of  
 this my purpose & enterpryse, so boldly to affirme  
 & to take vpon me, to declare suche blyndenes to  
 reigne amonge vs, specially in this tyme, wher-  
 in by the iugement of many wyle men, the truth  
 is declared and opened to our eyes, after suche  
 maner, that we playnly condempne all our fore-  
 fathers of ignozancye, gyuyng thanks to all  
 mighty god, for so manifest declaration of truth  
 nowe in this age by his goodnes to vs opened:  
 To whom this I wyl fyyste in the begynnynge  
 say, that all be it some thynges by the goodnes  
 of god, and diligent prudence of wyle and pol-  
 tyke men, are brought to lyghte, whiche befoze  
 tyme from our forefathers were couert and hyd,  
 yet of suche moment and weyght they be not in  
 dede, wherfoze we oughte to condempne all the  
 antiquitie: and all our forefathers for the igno-  
 rance therof, vtterly to caste into the depe pytte  
 of helle: no: yet of suche sorte they be not, that by  
 the inuention of them, we may iustely so glozie,  
 as by them to be deliuered from al blyndnes and  
 ignozancye, for yet blynde we be, and excepte we  
 take diligent cure, in this blyndnes we shal dye.  
 For that blyndenes is almoste incurable, to the  
 which is ioyned proude arrogācy, so that of this  
 doubte there is none, that al though in this our  
 age many thynges are brought out of darkenes

C

to

Blyndenes



Ephc. 4.

Plato in Ti-  
meo.  
Arist. Eth. 7.

to lyghte: yet of suche nature they are not to be iudged, that we shulde therby be constrayned to cōfesse, of truth to haue the clere sight. This benefyte is to great for our age to beare, wherein as it appereth to me, by discorde, diuersitie of iugementes, and contrary sentence, truthe is almost ouerthrowen, and dꝛyuen away, which is of this nature, that she neuer wyl appere, but onely in suche hartes, whiche withoute corrupte affectiō be pure and syncre: therfore to pronounce blyndnes to reigne in vs I wyl not feare, and nowe pꝛocede to declare the same: wherein fyrste most chꝛisten people, this you shal vnderstande, that of all kyndes and sortes of ignoraunce and blyndnes, whiche occupieth our myndes, I wyl not nowe speke. For that matter were ouer large to entreate, and not conuenient to your eares to here: For as moche as ignoraunce and blyndnes, after the sentence of the auncient lerned men, to whose mynde I do therin agree, is the fountayn and mother of all vicious affectes and myserie. For man dothe nothyng that is yuel, but he hath som pꝛetext and colour of good, wherby he is induced to the execution of his dede. For this is a sure grounde, no man wyttyngly and wyllyngly wyl do hym selfe hurt, nor no suche thyng whiche is to hym yuell, except to his iugement it appered good: so that euer by som fals perswasion reason is corrupt, & blinded with affectiō. But this blindnes in oꝛdꝛyng the natural affectes & desyres

res to naturall reason, which euer hath ben cōmon to mankynde, and euer shalbe durynge this worlde, I wyl sette a parte, euen lyke as I wyl also, the ignozance and blindnes of the nature of thinges, whiche cometh by lacke of knowlege of letters, and hygh philosophie, wherof our natiō is somewhat rude, and moche moze I fere shortly wyl be, by a contempte of letters, whiche dayely growethe in amonge vs. Of these. ii. kyndes of blyndenes I saye now at this tyme, I wyl not speake, but I wyl touche. ii. other kyndes of this blyndnes, concernyng pure religion, and trewe honour of god, whiche are moze pernicious to al ciuyle order and polycie, than the other be, of the whiche the one byngeth in, the disobedience to cōmon lawe stablyshed by cōmon authoritie, the other the contempt of religion, which is the foundation & ground of al good & true policy. The first I may call a superstitious blindnes, the whiche by longe processe of time, is roted in our stomakes vnder the pretence of religion: The seconde me semeth may wel be called an arrogant blyndnes, whiche lately is growen in here among vs, by lyghtnes of iugement, contrary to all religious opinyon, and Chyristen ciuilitie: the whiche both so manifestly reigne in our hartis, that this thynge to declare by longe processe & many wordes may playnly appere superfluous. For as touching the superstitious blyndnes of many, we haue had lately amonge vs lametable experiēce,



to al honest hartes greuous and sozowful, of the  
 whiche many wordes nowe to speake, I can not  
 without great sozowe: for a sozowfull case it ap-  
 pered to me to see suche men, so notable, boths of  
 vertue and lernynge, as by common fame, some  
 of them were reported to be, whiche lately haue  
 suffred, so sturdely to stycke in a manyfest super-  
 stition, that rather they shulde chose to lose theyr  
 lyues, than to be remoued frome their opinion,  
 wherein they stode so styffely, vnder the perswa-  
 sion of true religion: For it appered to them to  
 pertayne to the religion of Chyste, by necessitie  
 the byshop of Rome amonge al chysten nations,  
 to haue suche superiozitie, as of many yeres he  
 hathe, abusynge their paciencie, vsurped vppon  
 them: In the defence wherof, as it had ben an  
 article of the fayth, they boldly, with moze paci-  
 ence than wysedome, suffred their deth, the whi-  
 che thinge in dede as hereafter shall appere, is a  
 playne and manyfest superstition, and spryngeth  
 out of superstitious blyndnes, byngynge forth  
 pernicious and sturdy obstinacy, with disobedi-  
 ence to princely authoritie, and to lawes autho-  
 rised by common counselle and good policie, to  
 the obedience wherof, we are bounden by the la-  
 wes of god and of nature, so long as they stande  
 in full strength and power, with no repugnancy  
 vnto the same. The blyndnes of these persons I  
 am sure all you moste chysten people, of harte do  
 lament, and specially of somme of theym, whose  
 fame

same of lernynge and vertue, throughout Chri-  
stendome was spredde, but as you earnestly la-  
ment and forowe the blyndenes of the same per-  
sones, soo I truste you wylle with all harte and  
mynde, auoyde suche superstition and blynd ob-  
stinacye, and suffre it not to take any roote and  
grounde amonge you, wherof myghte succede  
ruine bothe to vs and our posterite, of this thing  
in many of you, whiche conceyue the matter as  
it is in dede, with dewe obedience in hart admit-  
tynge the same, I doubt nothyng at all, but cer-  
tayne I am, that their example shall be to you of  
small moment and weyght: in so moche that to  
speake any worde of that matter to some of you,  
after law stablyshed therupon, & lerned iugemēt  
declaid therein, semith to me almost superfluous  
and labour in bayn. But yet for as moch, as som  
other there be among you of lesse knowlege, and  
weaker conscience, of this thinge hereafter in  
his place I shal somewhat say and open to you at  
large my sentence therein, But nowe I wylle re-  
turne agayn, ferther to describē and declare vnto  
you this superstitious blyndenes and blynde  
superstition.

And fyrste to the intent ye may better perceyue  
the reste of my communication I shall shortly  
touche, as moche as shalbe expedient to my pur-  
pose, the difference betwixt true and perfyte re-  
ligion, & fals and bayn superstition, for the whi-  
che brefely to say without longe Disputation,



True Reli-  
gion.

Johan. 4.

Matt. 23.

True religion is this, with sincere and pure spirite to honour god, and with most reuerent loue and ardent affection of harte and mynde to worshyppe the diuine nature, by Christ in our dayes to mankynde declared, as authoꝝ of al thinges, fountayne of all goodnes, and gouernour of al. This teacheth vs our mayster Christe, the very true doctour of all trewe religion, in his gospel, instructyng the woman of Cananee, feruently desyringe the knowledge therof, where he saith vnto her, that the very true worshypers of god be suche as in spirite and truthe worshyppe him in harte. For lyke as he is of nature spirituall, & nothinge but truthe, so he delyteth in suche honour and worshyppe, as in truthe of spirite cometh out of the harte, and spirituelle power of man, and not onely out of his lyppes, oꝝ by any other exterioꝝ signes declared: It is the honoꝝ of harte that he doth require, who only loketh into the hart of mā, with him there is no place of dissimulatio. wherfoze aboue al thing as the course of his lyfe and doctrine openly declareth, Hypocrispe hym mooste hyghly displeasyth: for as god is sincere and pure truthe, so accoꝝdyngely with fals fayned hypocrispe, he is mooste offended: soo that trewe religion is with the inwarde affect of harte, the trewe honour of god, though it be set out also, to the face of the worlde, by outwarde token and ceremonie. And this we lerne of our master Christ: The which thyng also his apostel James

James playnly confyrmeth, where as he sayth, that pure and clene religion stondeth in brotherly loue, and euery one to his power helping eche other, to commune the gyftes of god, to our common comforte, and so lifyng vp our hartes from all worldly affection, to put our hole confidence and truste in his goodnes, liuing in him and not in our selves, there settinge all our comfort and ioye, lounge hym with harte aboue all thyng, and all thynges for him. In this christen people, shortly to conclude, stondeth the puritie of trewe religion, in so moch that he of what state & condition so euer he be, y thus loueth god, as maker & gouernour of al, with reuerēt duede of bryngge his precept & comandmēt, euer beryng to him lounge fere & fearful loue, with hart obediēt to the same, This mā I say is a ppyte religious man, though he be nother couered with saint Benets cote, no: yet with saynt Francys: ye & though he be at ploughe and the carte, and labouryng the grounde, yet may he be as perfite in religion as the moste perfyte monke luyng in his cloyster. But here frendes I wolde not ye shulde of me take occasion, to condemne all these monastical sortes & kindes of religion, which for the conseruation & setting forward of this pure and perfyte religion of Christ by holy & reuerēt fathers haue ben inuēted & cōstitute, lōge & many yeres by common authozite amōg vs receiued: for this opiniō I wold not haue you to cōceiue, which abhorrit  
from



a. dom.

Coloss. 2.

Wayne Super-  
stition.

from christen ciuilitie. But by this meane I shal  
 induce you, to perceyue somwhat the better this  
 blynde superstition, whiche is a playne contrary  
 to pure religion, the whiche as you haue harde  
 requyrez ardent loue of god, myngled also with  
 some reuerent feare: for euery christen hart must  
 feare to breake and transgresse the commaunde-  
 met of god. wherfore we must bere towarde god  
 both fearefull loue and louynge feare, the which  
 thynge as you shall nowe here, hath minystred  
 the grounde to all superstition, whiche brefely to  
 saye is nothynge elles, but a scrupulous and a  
 scruple maner of the honourynge of god, con-  
 ceved in the harte of man, by ouermuche feare  
 of the transgression of the commaundement of  
 god, whiche bringeth in corrupte iugement, ma-  
 kyng vs to iudge that thynge, to pertayne to  
 his honour and trewe religion, which dothe nat  
 in dede, but hangeth onely of mannes constitu-  
 tion. As by example, some of vs are so supersti-  
 tious, that if they here not. iii. masses euery day  
 in the honour of the Trinitie, though they haue  
 busynes of great necessitie: yet greuouely they  
 iudge them selves to offende the maiestie of god.  
 And some if they crosse not them selves at saint  
 Iohns gospel, or kysse nat the pace in the masse  
 tyme, thynke in that day scante to spede well, su-  
 che is the superstitious fere in many mens myn-  
 des, whiche hath gyuen occasion to so many soz-  
 tes and kyndes of monasticalle lyues, and soli-  
 tarie

tarie religion. For many men consideringe the  
 dangers abrode in the worlde, ministred to them  
 by manyfolde occasion, and weyninge with them  
 selves their owne fraynes and imbecillitie, wher  
 by they perceyued they coulde not resist the com-  
 mon pleasures and vanities of the worlde, and  
 so fearyng to be trapped therby, fledde into wyl-  
 dernes & solitarie places, auoydying the worldly  
 companie, there luyng at the firste, in greatte  
 quietnes of mynde: by whose example many o-  
 ther moued, by lyttell and lyttel, grew to a great  
 company, and made in wyldernes as hit were a  
 lyttell polycie, amonge whom at the begynnyng  
 bothe vertue and lernynge, came to great perfe-  
 ction, in soo moche that other obseruyng theyr  
 constaunce and austeritie of lyfe, luyng abrode  
 amonge the common pleasures, begynnyng to  
 distruste to their kynde of lyues, fearyng the di-  
 spleasure of god, with ouermoch drede of liuing  
 abrode, iudged superstitiously the perfection of  
 Christis religion, in that solitarie kynde of lyfe  
 onely to remayne, by the reason wherof that nõ-  
 bze nowe in our days is ouermoch growen, whi-  
 che so haue fylled monasteries, that many cities  
 almoste be lefte voyde, to the great ruine of com-  
 mon ciuilitie. But of this hereafter, and to re-  
 tourne to the pourpose, nowe after that by these  
 few wordes, somwhat I thinke you do perceiue,  
 what is true religiõ, and what superstition, and  
 wherin they differre. For as true religion is the  
 f honour



## A N E X H O R T A T I O N .

honour of god, with reuerent fere of disobeying of his pzeceptes, so superstition is a scrupulous honour myngled with ouermoeche and seruple feare, with meruaylous disquieting of the weke conscience & blynde, the whiche by corrupt iugement taketh suche thyng to pertayne of necessitie to the honour of god, which in dede nothyng so doth, but hangeth onely vpon mans consent: so that by this I saye nowe you shall be induced playnly to confesse, moch blynde superstition to reigne in your hartes, as I shall nowe partely note. For all sortes and kyndes of superstition, here to pzosecute, shuld be ouerlonge, & nothyng necessarie to my purpose: sufficient it shalbe som to descrybe, the reste leauyng to your owne examination.

And fyrst thinke not you, that like as there hath bene some to the great sorowe of honest myndes, which lately blynded by superstition, haue iuged the vnitie of Chzistis churche, vtterly to be broken, by pluckynge frome the pope, his vsurped power ouer vs and superiozitie: so there be some other of no lesse blyndnes, whych if the ozganes shoulde be plucked oute of the churche, and the curyous syngynge tempered and broughte to a conuenyente meane, ye oz yf the prayers commonly sayde amonge vs in temples in a strange tongue, of the people not vnderstonde, shoulde openly be reherfed in the mother tongue, to the entente that the affecte of the harte myght ther-  
by

by rather be styred, to the trewe honour of god,  
 whiche I say wolde lykewyse iuge with no lesse  
 superstition, Chyistes relygion vtterly to be o-  
 uer tourned. And further if to priestes the my-  
 nisters of goddis worde, libertye were graunted  
 by common authoritie, to marye and take wy-  
 ues for the auoydyinge of fornycation, wolde  
 they not thynke, that chistian purytie were vt-  
 terly than extincte? ye and if the holy dayes and  
 masses also celebrazt vpon the same, were brought  
 to lesse nombze, than wolde they say, Chyist were  
 vtterly dyuen awaye. And yet ferther yf mona-  
 steryes shoulde be mynished, and of theym the  
 foundations altered, ye thoughe it were to the  
 hygh settynge forwarde of vertue and lernynge,  
 yet wolde many of you thinke, Chyistis relygion  
 vtterly therby to peryshe. Suche is our blynd-  
 nes, suche is our folly. And what trow you concer-  
 nyng the sacramentes, that many of vs haue not  
 also of them very folyshe & superstitious opiniō,  
 lokynge onely to the outwarde sygne and cere-  
 mony, nothynge consyderynge the inwarde and  
 heuenly mysterie? Be there not som amonge vs  
 thynke you, that wold iuge their childe not to be  
 wel baptised and chrystened, if they were not dip-  
 ped in the fount quite ouer the heed, wherby the  
 childe oft tymes conceyueth his deth? & yet this is  
 but a rite & a custome, diuersely vsed amonge di-  
 uers natiōs, & nothing pteining to the substance of  
 the sacrament. Be there not som also, the whiche



## AN EXHORTATION.

yf their frende were sycke, and in Daungier of  
 lyfe, and so at the laste taken by Dethe, befoze the  
 priest coulde aryue to minister to him, the hoste,  
 and extreme vnction, wolde playnly thinke and  
 iudge that he shuld die a Damned soule, and soze  
 lament therfoze, the departure of their frende, as  
 though in suche a case, the wyl and purpose were  
 not sufficient. Be there not also some, the which  
 in confession, if for lacke of memozie or a lyttell  
 negligence, they dydde not recyte all their dedes  
 with the circumstance of the same, wold plainly  
 iudge, voyde the absolution: Yes vndoubtedly.  
 Of this sozt among vs there be dyuers and ma-  
 ny, whiche by manyfolde superstition, haue their  
 iudgementes so corrupte, that al be it that by the  
 power of princis and comon authozite, the abuse  
 of suche thinges, wherto they haue ben long ac-  
 customed, shuld be reformed & bzought to better  
 frame, yet in their hartes and myndes they wold  
 not wel beare it, but styl against suche alteration  
 and refovrmyng to true religion, wold murmur  
 and grudge, moued by their blynd superstition:  
 suche is their madnesse & grosse opinion, they do  
 not well ponder and wey, the nature of politike  
 thinges and indifferent, whiche be of this sozte,  
 that in pzoesse of tyme by littell and littell euer  
 grow to iniuste extremitie, in so moch that of ne-  
 cessitie they require prudent refozmation: ayenst  
 the which they sturdely armed with superstition,  
 euer repugne, bicause they lack right iugement,  
 to

to discerne betwixt thynges worldly & politike,  
 and thinges whiche hange of the necessite of na-  
 ture, and of the scripture and gospell of god, the  
 whiche thinges contrary to the other, whiche by  
 nature be indifferent, neuer admyt chaunge nor  
 innouation, no nor yet tempering by dispesatio,  
 as hereafter in his place moze playnly I shal de-  
 clare. But nowe I thinke dere frendes, in some  
 part, by this whiche I haue said, our blyndnesse  
 and vayne superstition, whiche thus reygnethe  
 in our hartis, is open vnto vs, in so moche that  
 hereby you may perauenture be styred, to fynde  
 by diligent examination of your owne conscien-  
 ces, manye other sortes of this superstition, the  
 whiche all to correcke and amende, lette vs not  
 cesse continually to pray to him, who is only au-  
 thoꝝ of all trewe religion. And this nowe conse-  
 quently I shal procede, in lyke maner, brefely to  
 touche, the other kynde of blyndnes, whiche rei-  
 gneth in vs no lesse thanne dothe this, and with  
 moze hyndꝛance to all good order and ciuilitie.  
 Foꝝ yet better it is, blynded with superstition, to  
 admyt suche thinges to be of the law of god, whi-  
 che be not in dede, than by arrogant blyndnes, to  
 derogate the authozitie therof, and so brynge in  
 the contempt of religion, whiche is the common  
 gate of all myserie and myschiefe bothe pꝛuate  
 and publyke. Foꝝ in that mynde oꝝ in that com-  
 mon weale, where as is no respect of god & good  
 religion, there althynges muste nedes runne to

Roman. 1.



ruyne and confusion.

Arrogante  
Blyndenesse.

And firſte to declare what I meane by this arrogant blyndenes, this you ſhall vnderſtonde, that lyke as ſuperſtition is ſcrupulous and ſer- uile honour of god, coupled with ouermoch fere, ſo contrary this blyndnes in religiō, is by a fay- ned & diſſimuled honour of god vtterly ſeperate from all fere and dæde of his punyſhment: in ſo moche that ſuche menne, in whole myndes reig- neth this arrogancie, if hit were not for feare of mannes lawe, wolde brynge to ruine all order and policie, they wolde haue all thynges why- che nature hath brought forth to the common comfozte of manne, to be in common, iudgyng this inequality in poſſeſſion of thynges, where as ſomme haue to lyttell, and ſome ouer moche, to be playne ageynſte Nature, and mannyfeſte in- iurpe, they wolde in all thinges ſerue their owne fantaſye, they wolde in harte be ſubiecte to no ceremonie, lawe, nor mannes tradition: for that they ſaye agree the not to the libertie of a Chry- ſtian manne, who is free frome all bondage of lawe, and ſubiecte to no ceremonie, the whi- che they ſay be only ſnares and ſtapes vnto weke myndes, nothyng agreeing vnto theyr dignitie.

Thus with greatte wordes many of vs booste and blowe, euen as though we were equall with ſayncte Poule, for bycauſe that we canne re- herſe certayne of his wordes perteynyng vnto the ſame lybertie, but the meane tyme we ſerue  
our

our affectes, and to them in al this libertie be vtterly subiecte moze than any slaue vnto his master: for whether so euer they drawe vs, thither heedlonge we runne, & them wilfully we folowe, makinge no resistance therto: wherein dere friends what arrogant blyndenesse this is, manifestly I trowe you see: this to bragge in wordes of chzisten lybertie, beinge so subiecte to bayne affectes and all myserye, frome whiche a harte that inioyith that libertie, is nete and pure, in no popnt serupnge therto, but by spirituall comfort so is confirmed, that all such affectes he treadeth vnder foote: wherein stondeth this libertie, whiche maketh a man obedient with a gladde harte to all ceremonies and lawes, wherof by this arrogant blindnes a great sorte of vs be manifest despisers, as you daily not without sorowe, who so wyl aduerte, may by experience both here and see. For somme there be amonge vs, whiche of their owne foolishhe fantasie, generally all traditions do condempne, though that they be neuer soo good and conueniente to the conseruation of the spirituall policie, as vndoubtedly many of them be: All ceremonies they haue in derision, and calle them plaine hypocrisie, though they were neuer so well of holy fathers ordeined and institute, to stire the deuotion of simple mindes to chzisten puritie: all ecclesiasticall lawes they vtterly abrogate, though they be yet amōge vs receiued and authorised by cōmon authorite,

all

Trewe ly  
bertie.  
Galat. 4.



# AN EXHORTATION.

all counsellcs they vtterly condemne, as thinges gouerned and ruled by playne and manyfest tyranny, and as for pilgremage and veneration of saintes they haue for playne idolatrie, and soolykewise purgatory and praying for them which be deed they repute for the simplicitie: fastynge also they in no case wyl admitt, though it hath ben approued of al antiquitie: Holy dayes they wyl admitte none, fearynge peraduenture the occasion of the remembraunce of god, whome though in worde they besily confesse, yet by their dedes they vtterly hym denye, and out of they hartes playnly hym caste, accoꝝdynge to the nature of this blynde arrogancy, which vnder the pretence of religion despyseth the same as bayne superstition: lyke as also vnder the pretext of iustyce and good policie, it couertly subuerteth all good order and ciuilitie. And as for the sacramentes, thynk you to the, some of this sort haue any reuerence, the whiche they iudge to be onely as dooime sygnes: truly none at al: in so moche that and yf it were not for the goodnes of our pꝛince, whome they se stedfastly stande in the defence of the same, they wold sure befoze it were longe, as ryghtes ecclesiasticalle and ceremonies, vtterly condemne them also, and put them quite out of memoꝛie. For such is their pestilent perswasion, that all thinge they wolde as it semeth brynge to confusion, nothynge admittynge at all, but that whiche is in scripture expꝛessely conteyned, whiche

the they also wpll buderstonde after their owne fantasie, to the contrarienge wherof yf you bring the sentence of any auncient doctour, as of Jerome, Austyne, Gregorie, or Ambrose, their authoritie by and by they frede vnder fote, sayinge they were men, to whose iudgement they be nothinge bounden at al: And if you begyn to reason with them to conuince theof this their blynd arrogancy, streight waye your reason they shake of, sayinge it is drawe out of sophisticall philosophy: & so after this maner many of vs our arrogant blyndenes, blyndely defende, from the which by no meane we wyl be deliuered, but sturdely stande in the defence of the same: whiche thynges frenedes is sooze to be lamented. For these men vnder the presence of libertie, couertly purpose to distrope all chrysten policie, and soo in conclusion bringe al to manifest ruine and bitter confusion. For what can you loke other of them, whiche so arrogantly dispise all ceremonies, rites, and ecclesiastical lawes, al holosome customes and traditions, but at the last also the certayne ruine & destruction of all chrysten puritie, and true religio: And if it were not that by the high wisdom and policie of our prince, I haue greatte hope and sure truste some remedies shortly to be provided, wherby our hartes shalbe purged of such blindnes cōcernyng religio, I might me semeth make a sure conclusion, that shortly we shulde be brought in here in our countrey by this our owne blyndnes,



# AN EXHORTATION.

2. Corin. 4.

blindnes, our owne confusion, the whiche nowe  
as one of the effectes consequent, and of necessi-  
tie annexed to the same, amonge other I wylle  
brefely shew. For frendes of this be you assured,  
this blindenes of religion reigninge in our har-  
tes, as I haue declared, partly by superstition,  
and partly by arrogant opinion, can not longe  
contynue without dyuellishe effectes, of the whi-  
che some we se all redy, to our great sorowe put  
before our eyes, and some I wylle touche, whiche  
all men do not obserue, though some of them be  
all redy put in effecte, and some by all coniecture  
are lyke to succede, excepte by his prouydence  
chiefly, who gouerneth all, they may be from vs  
aduerted and bitterly turned away.

2. Corin. 4.

Effectes of  
Blindnesse.

What meruailous effectes, howe diuers and  
straunge this dyuellishe blindenes worketh in  
mannes mynde, I wylle not, no no: if I wold I  
can not all expresse. For euen as god hym selfe is  
nothyng but truthe and wysedome, so the dyuel  
is nothyng but blindnes and folly: and as god  
by wysedom, as by the chief instrument worketh  
all that is good both in heuen and erthe, soo the  
dyuell by blindnes worketh all that is euyl, here  
in mannes lyfe: and with that as with the chefe  
instrument, impugneth euer helpe the workes  
of goddis wysedome and prouydence, as by ex-  
ample, by the blindnes compynge of the lacke of  
knowledge of thynges he maketh mans mynde  
rude and ignorant, lettynge hym therby frome  
the

the admyration and contemplation of Nature,  
 and of all power therof, wherby elles he myghte  
 be styred to consyder the bountifulle goodnesse  
 of god, of whome nature taketh all her vertue  
 and power. By this blyndenes also he byngeth  
 man to the obedience of his bayne and beastely  
 affectes, by the reason wherof he neuer tasteth  
 of the sweteness of vertue, and into that garden  
 he neuer doth entre, y<sup>e</sup> o<sup>r</sup> yet if he doo, there he  
 can not tary at all, but strenght way is caste out  
 agayne, to that Cue beyng ouer obedient. This  
 I coulde confyrme by many places of scripture,  
 But I wylle not now tary ther vppon, no<sup>r</sup> be  
 about to expresse vnto you the hole course of this  
 dyuellyshe blyndnes, no<sup>r</sup> the combyng effectis,  
 whiche the dyuell by this instrumente bringeth  
 forth here in the miferable and wretched lyfe of  
 manne, to the common destruction of all vertue  
 order and ciuilitie, wherof he is by his corrupte  
 nature ennemy: but I wyl somewhat touche only  
 certayn effectis, and them somewhat open to you,  
 the whiche this blyndnes in religion, whiche I  
 haue shewed, y<sup>e</sup> o<sup>r</sup> rather we in our lyfe dayely &  
 playnly do shewe, to reigne in our hartes, partly  
 by bayne superstition, and partly by arrogant &  
 light opinion, hath and dothe daily bringe forth  
 here in our countrey. And fyrst as touchinge the  
 effectes of blind superstition, what it hath done all  
 redy it is to you al, moze manifest thā nedeth de-  
 claratiō. For what disobedience to comon lawes,

Genesis. 3.

G. II.

good



Rom. 13.

A N E X H O R T A T I O N

good and expedient to the welth of this realme,  
and what disobedience to the princely authorite,  
to the whiche by goddis lawe straptely all trewe  
subiectes are bounden, hath lately bene shewed,  
and hath succeded as an effecte of this blynd su-  
perstition, we bere frendes to the great sorow of  
suche myndes, as of harte desyre the comon qui-  
etnes, these days paste haue sene in them, whiche  
nothyng fearynge the crueltie of payne, haue to  
the worlde testified by their deathe their disobe-  
dience, moued by vayne and fals superstition,  
whiche grewe in their hartes, and there was sta-  
blyshed vnder p̄terete of trewe religion: by the  
whiche perswasion they more boldly than wyse-  
ly, by the iudgement of wyse men, suffered their  
deth. So that in this playnly moste christen peo-  
ple here you may se, the moste dyuellythe effecte  
of this superstition, whiche induced men of such  
lernynge, of suche wytte, and of suche perfectnes  
of religion, as some of them which suffred, were  
noted to be, so to be disobediente to common au-  
thorite, & so wilfully to repugne ageinst the same  
that more gladly in their superstitious opinion  
they ranne vnto deathe, and with more patience  
sufferynge the same, semed it to desyre, then ma-  
ny of vs desyre the sweteness of this lyfe or plea-  
sure therof. Suche was their blyndnes, whiche  
so blynded their hartes, that contrary to al cours  
and lawe of nature, they gladly that thynge suf-  
fred, that man naturally euer doth abhorre. But  
as I

as I sayde herein you may se the great strength and power of sturdy superstition, whiche so hath ouerrūneyd wyttes of wittye psons, coloured with the spice of religiō, that al power of nature they vtterly ouercame: but of this effect I wyl speke no moze, trusting that the example of these shall gyue vnto you all sufficient warnynge and monition, to auoyde all suche blynde superstition, & yet hereafter in his place I shall not pretermytte somewhat to say concernyng the instruction of your weake conscience and knowlege in this behalf. For what disquietnes reigneth in these hartes, whiche by superstition are corruptly infecte, by the reason wherof they be as it were into diuers partes rent, I wyl not be about here to expresse, but leue it to the iugement of them, which fele the selves vexed therewith. For here was my purpose, only to touchethis effect of superstitiō, to the declaration whereof, these fewe wordes as I think haue ben sufficient. wherfoze consequēty I wyl nowe procede to other, whiche nedeth longer declaration, for as moche as all men do not them obserue, for pryncely they be cropen into our bosomes, and dayely dothe moze and moze there increase, the thynges be suche, that I wold you myght them iustely deny, but of your owne hartes I shall haue testimonie, your owne conscience shall wytnesse with me. And bryefely to say, this it is, as wel by the blindnesse of this dyuellyshe superstition, as by this



pestilent and arrogant opiniō, there is growing in among vs here a corrupt iugemēt one of an other, by the reason wherof, eche one in hart iudgeth other to be, eyther pharisee oꝝ heretypke, papist oꝝ schismaticke, to the whiche iugemēt consequently is annexed diuision, & so to the same is succeeded of the very true and spirituall vnitie, a manifest dissolution and an open bracke therof by dissention. That this is true I shall in as few wordes as I can manifestly declace. For if I shuld particularly and at length prosecute this thinge, I shulde be ouerlonge and tedious to you. Wherefore I wyll touche onely as it were certayn common places and generall groundes, wherby we are slypped into this pestilent and dyuellishe diuision of spirite, by the reason wherof, somme of you may peradventure be moued to consider the corruption of your own iugementes herin. And fyrste in the begynnyng this you must take for a manifest truthe, that all suche which ouermoeche gyuinge to traditions, ceremonies, and ecclesiasticall rytes, and customes, stycke to them as to thinges stable by nature inuariale, and of necessity to the saluation of manne required, without the whiche the groundes of Christis religion may not be conserued, all suche I say lening to a false perswasion, erre, and haue conceyued therby a great grounde of a corrupt iudgement. For this is sure, that rites, ceremonies, and customes of the churche, accoꝝdyng to tyme, place,

and

Groffdes of  
diuision.

Coloff. 2.  
Luc. 11.

and nature of the people may be varied, as thinges of them selfe nother sure nor stable, ye and necessite it both require. For euen as al dyet to al men for bodily helth, is not agreable nor conuenient, so all ceremonies to all nations for good religion be nother mete nor expedient. wherfore the sturdy defence of them in priuate persons contrary to common authoritie, commeth vndoubtedly of a folysh and corrupt iugement, and roseth superstition: Lyke as contrary this is of no lesse truthe, that all suche persons, whiche traditions of fathers, rytes, & customes vtterly condemne and despise, bycause they fynde them not in holy scripture playnly expessed, and so therefore affirme them to be pernicious to all christen ciuilitie, and as burdeynes of conscience, iudge them of their owne heedes vtterly to be caste away: All suche I saye of the other syde be in no lesse errour, and haue by this grounde and opinion founded a more corrupt iugement, than haue yet the other, therby runnyng into a contempte of religion. For to this iugement is annexed the ruine of al christen pollicie, whiche is conserued and moche maynteyned by rytes & customes ecclesiastical, yee the groundis of scripture & the very doctrine of Christ without these briefly wold greatly decaye, and I thinke by littell and lyttell vtterly banyshe away. For as moche as the weake bulgare myndes of the people euer haue benne after this sorte, that withoute somme exterior

and

Matt. 23.



Theff. 2.

and outwarde sygnes and ceremonies, their simplicitie coulde neuer be lad to true religion, nor of god to conceyue the diuinitie. Wherfore of this grounde as I sayd, ryseth a corrupte and a pestilent iudgement and mother of all impietie: and out of lyke perswasion it springeth, that many men say, that these rytes and customes ecclesiasticall, are mayntained onely by them, whiche take profyte and lucre therby, and of suche they were fyrste constitute, ordeyned, and stabled for that pourpose and none other, whiche is also a manifest and fals opinion. For many of these rites and customes were inuented of theym, who were bothe in doctryne and lyfe, dispisers of all worldly gayne, profyte, and pleasure, and loked only to the preferrement and encrease of vertue and of true religion, and after also were stablyshed by common lawe and generall counsell in euery congregation. This can not be denyed of any man, whiche with indifferency, and sincere mynde, nothinge blynded with affection, weyeth thinges as they be in their owne nature. But somme of vs blinded with suche perswasion, yet procede ferther, and plainly do affirme, that prestis to haue possession, is vtterly against Christis doctrine, and his true religion, litell considering howe that to receiue the gift and benefite of any man, giuen with charitie, nothinge repugneth to Christis doctrine, nor to his simplicitie: and howe that al suche donation & gift was brought in,

in, and stablyshed, by men of perfyte charitie, to this purpose that byshoppes, pristes, and al religious, shuld holly being intent to the p[re]ching of goddis worde, therby be mayntained in quietnes and tranquillite. This they consider not, but lokynge to the abuse, wherof doubtles is greate nede of refozmation, & therewith blynded, blindly do r[ui]ne to the cōdemnaton of the thing without reason and iugement. For this is a certain truth and sure, that the perfection of Ch[ri]stis religion resteth not so moch in the refuse of all possession, and wylfull pouertie, as it dothe in the streight vse of these worldly thynges, with perfyte charitie. Ye and though in the begynnynge the p[re]chers of Ch[ri]stis worde, were pooze and had nothyng, whiche was conueniente to that tyme, whan mankynd was vtterly drowned in worldly vanitie, yet now in this age, after the stablyng of Ch[ri]stis religion so longe and many yeres, I see no cause why, suche pouertie shoulde be soo necessary, and that possession shulde be soo contrary to ch[ri]sten perfection. Wherfore this perswasion bredeth in our hartes a corrupt iugemēt and a pestilent diuision, by the whiche somme of vs are slypped to a moze corrupt and pernicious grounde, whiche is to flee the order of generalle cōsel, and of al interpretation of scripture there cōmonly receiued. For to this succedeth in a manner the ruine of scripture it selfe, the authoritie wherof declared to man comonly, hangeth moch



Act. 15.

vpon generall counsell. For though the truth of  
 goddis worde dependethe nothynge vppon the  
 iugement of man, yet the declaration therof, to  
 the face of the worlde, hangeth moche thereon: in  
 so moche that these whiche we haue and take to  
 be the true gospelles, and to conteyne the veray  
 doctrine of Christ, we knowe not surely so to do,  
 but onely by feyth and confidence that we gyue  
 to the definition of generall counsell and consēt  
 of the same: In so moche that if dyuers nations  
 shulde dissente in the groundes of scripture, and  
 in the interpretation therof, refuge shoulde we  
 haue none conuenient to chrystian policie, and  
 mete to conserue the polyticall vnitie, yf frome  
 generall counsaile we shoulde take awaye all  
 order and direction, and to that gyue no obedi-  
 ence at all. This therfore to iudge is playne ar-  
 rogancye, and the streyghte waye and certayne  
 to brynge all to vncertayntie: so that boldly I  
 dare asseyrme, that this perswasyon, hath sette  
 in many of vs, of many thynges corrupte opi-  
 nyon. And thus, whatte by superstition, and  
 what by arrogant opinion, many of our iudge-  
 mentes dere frendes, are fowle and pernicious-  
 ly corrupte, by the whiche we are nowe induced  
 by false and blynde perswasion, to conceyue eche  
 one of other an odious and a corrupt opinyon:  
 by the reason whereof, somme of vs are called  
 of the newe fashyon, and somme of the olde,  
 somme phariseys, and some schismatykes, and  
 some

Some also playne heretikes: As by example this  
 somewhat to declare such as repugne agaynst the  
 pride of Rome, gladly shakynge of the pocke ther  
 of, and wyllynge to receyue some newe doctrine,  
 to the comforte of their myndes: suche, as newe  
 fangled persones, be noted of other to be of the  
 newe facion, ye and suche as besye them selves  
 in redynge of newe bookes, and scripture, freely  
 condemnynge manye of the olde customes, by  
 processe of tyme growen to great abuse, though  
 their pourpose be neuer soo good, yet shall not  
 they scape the note of an heretyke, or els of more  
 gentylnesse, they shall be called but a schisma-  
 tike: wherein I dout not to pronounce, that they  
 be euill iudged, and that they whiche so iudge,  
 haue conceived of them a corrupte iudgement.  
 For the mooste parte I dare saye of them, whiche  
 be called of the newe facion, lyke trewe and obe-  
 dient personnes bothe to god and their prince,  
 wolde gladly with common quietnesse, the alte-  
 ration of certayne ceremonies and customes of  
 the churche, to the encrease of all vertue and of  
 true religion: and yet contrary they are iudged, e-  
 uen lyke as many other, whiche are noted to be  
 of the olde facion, bycause they not gladly sette  
 forwarde this newe mutation, but somewhat  
 styffely stycke in the olde ceremonies, and rytes  
 of the Churche, wherein they haue benne of  
 yowthe broughte vpp, and taken of their fa-  
 thers the same customes, not condemnynge  
 D.ii. lightly



# AN EXHORTATION.

lyghtly the constitutions ecclesiasticall: these I  
say, are iudged of other to be superstitious and  
pharisaicall, folysh and papisticall: the whiche  
also I dare with no lesse boldnes affirme, than I  
dyd of the other, that they ar mysiudged: For of  
them the moste parte vndoubtedly, though they  
some thynge stycke in the olde customes, as thin  
ges of longe tyme receyued for good order and  
polycie, yet whan so euer it shal appere by comon  
counsell here in our countrey, them to chaunge  
and vtterly to abrogate, substitutinge other by  
common assent, they wyl euer be gladde as true  
and loyall subiectes, to all suche to be obedient,  
but in the meane tyme, though lyke quiet modest  
and obedient persones, they stande in the olde,  
they are not to be blamed as pharisees, but ra  
ther deserue prayse, therein declaring their due tie  
& obedience, from the whiche lyghtly they ar not  
moued, accoꝝdinge to Poules counsaile with e  
uery newe inuention, by lyght braynes brought  
in, contrary to good order and al ciuile constitu  
tion. wherfoze without fayle many of those of the  
olde facion, are of the newe lyke wise mysiudged  
and wrongefully taken, as they be of the other:  
and so, though some of the olde facion be perad  
uenture yet playne superstitious, for supersticio  
so shortly wil not be plucked vtterly out of mind,  
ye and though somme of the newe, be in harte of  
true religion vtter dispisers, as if it were not for  
feare of deathe, I thinke playnely they wolde to  
the

2. Corin. 15.

the worlde declare: yet I doubt not but the most part both of the newe facion and also of the olde, of the truthe be ryght studious, and of true religion moche desirous, and dayly doo praye vnto him, who is the onely fountayne of all vertue & truthe, that it maye please him, so to light their hartes and conscience, that by his grace delyuered from blyndenes, they may at the last se some sparkle of his lyght and truthe: of the whiche nowe one iudgeth an other to be no parttaker at all, but echeone blyndely iudgethe other to be blynde, eche one iudgeth other to erre, and to be slypped from the trewe and catholike faithe, the which some by newe facion pretende to bring in: and some by the olde study to defende, so that by this contention, whyle euery man besyde endeuoreth him selfe, to maynteyne among vs this true and catholike faythe of Chyste, the meane tyme is vnder growing secretly in our hartes this lamentable diuision, the very bracke of the grounde of Chyristis religion, whiche is founded & grounded vppon vnitie, wherof here is amonge vs a playn and manifest dissolution. For he that thinketh that in those hartes resteth chrysten vnitie, where as one in harte iudgeth an other to be an heretike, he is playne frantike, and lacketh the common sense: he is eyther blynde, or playnely wyll not see, the whiche thynketh, that with suche contrary and corrupte iudgementes may be conserued this spirituall vnitie, which requireth

Dinyspon.



## AN EXHORTATION.

our hartes as in a common bande, to be knytte  
and coupled to gether in charite: wherof betwixt  
the newe facion and the olde our hartes are soo  
boyde and soo colde, that I thinke many of vs  
there be, whiche withoute grefe wolde see, their  
christen brother to hange vpon a galowes tree.  
Suche enuie & malice of one to an other is gro-  
wng in amonge vs, that I can not se howe we  
may iustely be called membez of this spirituall  
body of Christe: in the whiche as by charitie all  
partis do flouryshe and growe in vnitie, recey-  
uynge grace and spirituall comforte of that he-  
uenly heed, soo by malyce and rancour, the same  
falle in diuision, and for lacke of that spiryte  
receyued of that heed, runne into manifest ruine  
and destruction. The experience whereof here  
amonge our self dayly we se, where as you may  
perceyue, one nothing gladde to helpe an other,  
though he be in extreme necessitie: one nothyng  
prompte to gyue succour to other, though he for  
lacke therof he shulde incontinent dye, one not  
redy to instruct an other, though he iuge hym to  
be in greatte errour and folye: one not redy to  
beare the weakenes of an other, though he be of  
greatte simplicitie: but contrarpe one denyethe  
helpe and succour to other, every one fleeth the  
instruction of other, no man gladdely nor wyl-  
lyngly admonysseth his christian brother, but  
suffereth hym to erre, and hath him in derision.  
For suche is the diuision growng in by folyshe

sum-

simplicitie and arrogant opinion, that one of vs  
in no meane may abyde of the other any brother-  
ly admonition, but euer one hathe an other sus-  
pecte, that with some corrupt and newe opinion,  
he wpll infecte his iudgement, and bringe hym  
into some pernicious errour, contrarpe to Chri-  
stis catholyke faithe and religion: Thus in spi-  
rite and harte we be deuyded, and of this spiri-  
tuall vnitie is growen a playn bracke and disso-  
lution, which is an effect consequently folowing  
the cōmon corruption of our iugementes, which  
we conceyue one of an other: the whiche thyng  
is open vnto all theym that delyte not in their  
owne blyndenes, and wpll not lyst vp their eyes,  
this for to see. For al suche, whiche with chri-  
sten hartes be despyous of the cōmon quyetnes, and  
of the restitution of this vnitie, wherein with cha-  
ritie all Chyristis memmbres oughte to be knypte,  
therby moyninge theyr sure and certayne felici-  
tie, this canne not denye. And sorowfulle I am,  
that the thing of it selfe is so open to euery man-  
nes eye: in soo moche that many men of greatte  
wisedomme and prudence, greatly do feare, that to  
this breache of this spirituall vnitie, growynge  
in by lacke of knowledge & charitie, shall succede  
the rupne of good order, and of the iuste cōmon  
pollicpe: to the coniecture wherof, by this maner  
perauenture, whiche I shall brefely touche, they  
maye be moued. For as moche as all good poly-  
cpe is euer grounded vppon concoorde and vnite,  
vpon



# AN EXHORTATION.

vpon the whiche as vpon the sure and onely du-  
 rable foundation, all politike order is edified, al  
 ciuile constitutions be ordeyned and stablyshed :  
 Therfore where as that ground fayleth, haupng  
 therein any bracke, all the reste by reason and ne-  
 cessitie, must fall to ruine and miserie. For as al  
 stoyes the very glasse and true image of the lyfe  
 of man, playnly testifie, there was neuer comon  
 weale, whiche longe dyd endure, whiche layde  
 not of this grounde a sure foundation, And to  
 the conseruation hereof, euer put not mooste di-  
 ligent cure. But what shulde we seke confyрма-  
 tion of this by stoy, seinge our mayster Chyste  
 of his owne mouthe this hath pronounced, that  
 no comminalltie, where as reygneeth this disso-  
 lution of vnitie in harte, may long endure with-  
 out ruine and destruction : wherof we haue sene  
 in our owne dayes sorowful example and lamen-  
 table experience, here of our neyghbours in the  
 countrey of Germany, where as for lacke of pru-  
 dente respecte to the conseruation of this vnitie,  
 manifestly hath succeded ruine of the common  
 polycie and wonderfull confusion : in so moche  
 that amonge them selves within the space of. vi.  
 monethes there was slayne aboue an hundrede  
 thousand me. This to all the worlde is open, no  
 man can it denye, and nowe they be so deuyded  
 by sectes and heresies, that scant the shadowe of  
 true religion remayneth in that confusion. And  
 all this hath succeded by the iudgement of men  
 of

Matt. 12.

of wytte and polycie, because there was not in  
 tyme respecte to the blycke of this spiritual vni-  
 tie, whose errour I doubt not, shall be to our  
 example: by them we shal be instructe in tyme to  
 proude for the breache of this vnitie. For the  
 thyng is not yet soo depely roted here amonge  
 vs, but that by the fauoure and helpe of hym,  
 who is the very hedde of all vnitie, by the hye  
 wysedome and prouidence of our pryncce, who  
 as the chiefe offycer and mynister here vnder  
 Chyste, nothyng more studieth thenne the con-  
 seruation therof, & by the goodnes of your  
 owne nature mooste chysten people, who I am  
 sure to the restitution of this ground, wyl be  
 mooste pliable, and with all diligence endeuour  
 your selfe thereto. This breache is not yet so great  
 I saye, but that by all these meanes shortly and  
 surely stopped it maye be, by the whiche we all  
 as it were in one course knytte together as mem-  
 bres of one body, maye runne to gether with this  
 vnitie, wherby we shall surely at the last attayne  
 to that ende and felicitie, the whiche the hye pro-  
 uidence of god, of his mere goodnes, hath to vs  
 ordeyned and appoynted.

And to the intent we maye somewhat the better  
 attayne to the same, puttynge awaye this oure  
 blyndenesse repynge amongest vs, bothe by  
 false and vayne superstition, and also by arro-  
 gant and lyghte opynion, with all the pestylent  
 and dyuellysh effectes annexed to the same:

I

I shall



I shall now consequently of this our blyndnes  
gether certayne causes, wherby our iugementes  
are thus corrupted by such fals groundes as we  
haue conceyued: that so at the laste, auoydng  
the same with comon quietnes, we may the bet-  
ter both restore and conserue among vs this he-  
uenly vnitie.

Causēs of  
Blyndnesse.

And here moste christen people, this you shall  
vnderstande, that lyke as of all blyndnes re-  
gnyng in vs I haue not before spoken, so now  
in this parte of all causes therof, I wylle not  
make mention, for suche kynde of philosophye  
is not accordyng to your capacitie. For nothing  
there is here in this worlde, whiche is broughte  
forthe and made of onely one cause, but lyke as  
the thinges be of nature dyuers and varyable,  
so of many and dyuers causes they take their cre-  
ation, many causes runne to gether in certayne  
course and order, to the bringyng forthe of all  
thinges here in this worlde, subiecte to all cor-  
ruption: and so the dyuers effectes bothe in mans  
body and also in mynde, spryng oute of dyuers  
occasions, as to our purpose nowe at this tyme,  
this blyndnes which I haue declared to reigne  
in our myndes, cometh not of one occasion, but  
of many and dyuers: of the whiche certayne af-  
ter my iugement moste conuenient before you to  
be opened, I wylle now touche, as bryefely as I  
can, groupyng you some occasyon therby perad-  
uenture, to the inuention of other, and auoyding  
of

of the same. And fynde one greatte cause of this  
 blyndenes reighnyng amonge vs, I note to be  
 vnwyle maysters, foolyshe teachers of rel-  
 gion, vndiscrete preachers of the gospell of god,  
 whiche by their madnes and frantike folwe, ye  
 and by their lacke of iudgement and discretion,  
 haue broughte you oute of all good facion, they  
 haue ben a great occasion of this comon blynd-  
 nes, whiche shulde bringe you to the truthe, and  
 shew you the lyght, they haue ledde you into mi-  
 serable darknes, and almost put out your sight:  
 It is they that of manye yeres haue grafted in  
 your hartes and stabled superstition, it is they  
 which of longe season by their sonne doctrine or  
 rather sonne folw, haue moch corrupt your iuge-  
 mentes. For the people in euery comon weale be  
 rude and ignozant, haupng of them selfe smalle  
 lyght of iudgement, but euet in simplicitie, as  
 shepe folowe the herde, so folowe they their ma-  
 sters, euet treadinge in their steppes, whether  
 so euet they go indifferently: For the which cause  
 the auncient wyle men and olde philosophers,  
 were wont euet to saye, that loke of what sozte,  
 what nature so euet they be, which are maisters,  
 teachers, rulers, and heedes in any cite or po-  
 lycie: of the same sozte and nature of necessitie,  
 must be all the rest of the comminalltie. For their  
 lyfes, doctrine, and bedes, be to the people these  
 example and rules: their doctrine is their bolis,  
 their lyfes be their common glasses, wherein they

2. Pet. 2.  
Preachers.

Isaiah 29.  
Blinded

Plato rep. 5.

Isaiah 29.  
Blinded

II. ii.

with



# AN EXHORTATION.

with diligence euer be tooptyng and lokyng, and to their example as moch as they may, they euer forme and facion them selves in all thinges and in all kynd of lyfe, but specially in forme and facion of religion: for therof, of all other thing, the people of them self haue leest iudgement, and be of the same mooste ignozant, as a thinge whiche mooste hyghly passeth the common capacitie of man. For the whiche cause al the antiquitie euer referred the institution therof, to heuenly power & to goddis diuinitie, as we most chysten people surely do of ours, the whiche our master Chyist recepyng of the hygh wysedome of the heuenly father, hath most plainly and clerely & in fewe wordes described vnto vs, and by his apostels instructe vs therewith, no man excludyng from the misteries therof, they whiche be common to all mens capacitie. For the gospel is a doctrine of simplicitie, and nothinge but faythfull charitie, a doctrine so manifeste and playne, that if it were as easie to fulfyll and put in effect, as it is to conceyue and to vnderstade, I thynke there is no manne so rude, nor no manne by nature so ignozant, but he myghte attayne to the hyghest mysteries, and to the hyghest knowledge necessarye to the saluation of manne conteyned therein, for suche was the pourpose of our mayster Chyiste, to prescribe a doctrine to all men kynde, open and common. Wherefore he made rude fythers, and ignozant persones, the fyrste prechers teachers

The gospel.  
Galat. 3.

Matt. 13.  
1. Corin. 1.

teachers and doctours thereof. But nowe were  
 frendes, though this doctrine be neuer so playne  
 and full of simplicitie, neuer so clere and many-  
 fest of it self, yet it is by the curiositie of our ma-  
 sters and teachers therof, nowe of late yeres so  
 obscured and hydde, so cloked with subtyl inter-  
 pretation, so mangled by contrarie exposition,  
 that many of vs nowe be in greatte perplexitie,  
 moche dowbtyng of the truthe therof, vtterly  
 ignozant of the grounde and foundation of the  
 same. For where as the chiefe maisters and tea-  
 chers haue preched and wryte, contrary one to an  
 other, howe shuld ignozant and simple myndes  
 conceiue any grounde and sure stepe, wherto they  
 myghte leane for succour and comfozte? Howe  
 shoulde they fynde any certayne truthe therein?  
 where they here their masters in such controuer-  
 sie, whyle somme of them sette by the authoritie  
 of olde tradition, rytes and customes, as thynges  
 necessarye for the conseruation of good po-  
 lycie, where other vtterly do them abzogate and  
 damne, as thinges pernicious to all perfyte and  
 true religion: and some purgatorie and praying  
 for them whiche be deed, playnely do condemne,  
 and som openly admyt, some pilgrimage & bene-  
 ratiō of imagis, as thingis of idolatry manifest-  
 ly deny, other them preache & sette in full autho-  
 ritie. But what shuld I here be about to recyte al  
 such thinges, wherein our masters be i cōtrouerisy  
 seing that to al me I trow they be surely knowen.



in so moche that many of the people commonly say, that they wyl no moze here pꝛechynges, tyll the pꝛeachers amonge them selves better agree: they wyl no moze gyue their eares to such masters, whiche bypꝛinge them into so manifest perplexitie, and som of them haue induced into this fals superstition, and some to the contempte of true religion, so that a great parte of our blyndnes and corrupt iugement, we may most iustely bere frendes attribute vnto the vndiscrete pꝛeachers, and of Chꝛistis doctrine blynde maysters and techers: who haue not ben cōtent with their tongues onely their blyndnes to cōmune abroad and testifie, but also with their penne wꝛytyng the same they haue descriued, and so the iugementes of them which haue ben a lyttel lettered, with their folp by wꝛiting declared, they haue most pꝛiuitiously infected: som by their eloquence, mans lawe, ceremonies & rytes, customes & traditions, so haue exalted, so sette a height, that many simple myndes therby are perswaded, the somme of Chꝛistis religion in them to remayne, oꝛ at the lest so by them to be maynteyned, y to their ruine oꝛ alteration, shall succede of trewe religion the playn decay oꝛ innouation: Some other cōtrary by their bookes haue them so depressed, and vtterly condempned, that they boldly affirme the mayntenance of them to byringe in, of all syncere and pure chꝛistianite the bitter destruction, by the whiche Chꝛistis gloꝝy so hath ben of longe tyme obscured

obscured and hyd, that the worlde (as they say) hath gyuen moze to the outwarde workes and mans tradition, than to lyuely faith and trust in Chyristis passion: so that after this maner, as wel by foolyshe bookes as by sonne preachynge, you good people ar brought in a great mammering, your symplicitie semeth to be moche blynded by their curiositie.

Howe be it frendes this you muste nowe consequently take, that all be it great causes of your blyndnes, be these vndiscrete prechers, these curious and arrogant teachers, yet you maye not al attribute to them, you be not your selves cleane without fault: If you your selves some of you I say, had not sturdy hartes, and ful of obstinacy, by this superstition folyshely conceyued, though of many yeres it hath growen in your stomakes, yet it shulde not so there be roted, and so styffely of you be defended, that to common authoritie you shuld gyue no place: This declareth in many of vs to be great and manifest obstinacie: like as in some other of vs, easy it is also to see, great lightnes of mynde, and of iugement instabilitie, whiche with every blast of newe doctrine of our newe masters, be ouerthrowen and ledde, and to every lyght perswasion lyghtly gyue place, lea-  
upnge by and by al olde custome and ceremonie, whiche is no lesse faute than in superstition to be sturdy. wherfore to excuse your selves most chry-  
sten people holly by your mapsters, as many of  
you

Obstinacye

Lyghtnesse.



# AN EXHORTATION.

1. Corin. 3.

you do, iustly you may not. For though in them be great faute, and peradventure more damnable than is in you, yet you your selves be not cleane withoute blame. For these vnwysse Doctours of religion, neyther with their proude arrogancye, no; yet with their superstitious symplitie, if they found not in your hartes a prompt redynes to receyue their opinion, neuer shuld haue place to fasten in you their folyshe doctrine, they shuld not lyghtly stable in you any poynnt of bayne superstition, no; yet in your hartis any contempte of good and trewe religion. For lyke as the sedge caste in the grounde neuer byngeth forth frute, excepte by nature the grounde be apte and mete therebnto, soo the doctryne of preachers dothe neuer neyther edyfye no; dystroye, excepte in the hartes of them, to whome it is communed, there be founde to the receyuyng therof somme promptnes and conueniency. The faute wherof is to our selves holly to be imputed, for thoughe as I sayde before, the bulgare people be moche ignorant, and of iugement very bare, yet they be not of nature so naked sette forth here into the worlde, but that certaine sedes in their hartes they haue planted, certayne sparckes of knowledge there they haue grafted, which if with any meane diligence they wyl sette forth & tyll, some iugement they shall haue betwixt good and euil, some discretion they shal attayne, to discerne the good preacher from the bayne, some knowlege they

Matt. 13.

they shall haue to perceyue hym that preacheth  
 wel vertue and honestie, from him that preacheth  
 his owne folye the fantasie, by some token & signe  
 they shall discerne him: that is arrogant and se-  
 dictious, from him that is meke & vertuous. And  
 of this pauenture here after in his place, because  
 I iudge it moche to you at this tyme expedient  
 and necessary, I shall somewhat say, concerning  
 the difference betwixt the good preacher and the  
 euill, and howe you shall knowe one frome the  
 other, whiche shall be no small helpe to deliuer  
 vs from this blyndnes that we now be in wrap-  
 ped, my iudgyng one an other, wherof nowe in  
 some parte the causes you see, whiche is in dede  
 nothyng harde to perceyue, and I wold to god  
 it were no lesse harde to fynd and apply remedies:  
 but euen as it is in the body of man to fynde the  
 disese, and the cause thereof, though it be not easy  
 nor lyght, nor to euery man open and playne, yet  
 it is not soo harde, as it appereth to me, as with  
 prudent experiece to apply remedies to the same  
 in tyme and place conuenient. And so here lyke-  
 wyle in this our purpose nowe to note these cau-  
 ses of our blyndnes, as preachers obstinacie, and  
 leuitie of mynde, was no greatte difficultie, but  
 open to euery mans eye: but to fynde out reme-  
 dies conuenient now to the same, applying them  
 to the restitution of this despyred vniue, this is  
 not lyght, this is not in my power, this is not of  
 my wytte nor capacitie. wherfore a great parte  
 of

.xiii. d. a



1. Corin. 3.

of this thing commyttinge to the prouidence of  
 god, whose order and gouernance to lacke I  
 trust yet our synnes haue not deserued, & a great  
 parte to the hye policie of our most noble prince,  
 whose cares, studyes, and thoughtes I ye holly  
 therein. I shall nowe in the reste moue, exhorte,  
 & instruct you, most chryste people, with certayn  
 thinges, the which for the most parte I ye in your  
 owne diligēce, & be put in your own power, when  
 by you may yf you wyl, endeuous your selfe, as  
 I doubt not but ye wyl, greatly sette forwarde  
 bothe the restorynge, and the quiete conseruing  
 of this so moche of all men desired and praysed  
 vnitie. For though it be so that outwarde reme-  
 dyes by forayn causes adhipte, may to this pur-  
 pose geue moch preferment, greatly promoting  
 and lettynge forwarde the same, yet this can not  
 be doubted, but that in your selves stōdeth a great  
 parte of the hole matter, as in whom the grounde  
 and foundation therof holly doth I ye, none other  
 wyse than it dothe in them, whiche labour in bo-  
 dily disease, in whom you see, that all be it phis-  
 tions by medicines and other outward remedies  
 moche do conferre to the helth of their pacientes  
 by good experience ministrynge the same, yet a  
 great parte of their restitution lyeth in them sel-  
 fes by good diet, quiet order, and other good go-  
 uernance temperynge their affectes, without  
 the whiche all crafte of phisike lyttell dothe a-  
 uayle. And yet here in this purpose dere frendes  
 we

we are in moche better case than they be, which  
 are vexed and labour of bodily disease: for as  
 moche as we haue the presence of our phisition,  
 the heuenly spirite and diuine power euer atte  
 hande, moze redy at all tynes to minister vs re  
 medies, than we by our owne blyndnes and ne  
 gligent folp lette, be therof despyous. Wherfoze  
 as I sayd, moche lyeth in our selues bothe to re  
 store and conserue this heuenly vnite, we muste  
 dispose our selves with hart & wyl utterly to cast  
 away this blynde superstition and arrogant folp,  
 and with diligent indewour and cure foyme our  
 iudgementes with ryght knowlege and conue  
 nient obedience, that we maye thereby the better,  
 auoydyinge the dissolution of the vnite spiritu  
 al, without al confusion of policie annexed ther  
 to, as membris of one body kynnte to one herd,  
 here in this lyfe intoye common quietnes, and  
 hereafter eternal felicity, wherof pou al most chry  
 sten people by nature are frequently despyous, the  
 whiche desyre I trust in you shal neuer be founde  
 bayne, but bringe forth at the laste suche fruite  
 and perfection, as to suche ardent desire & noble  
 affecte is due and conuenient. For of this be pou  
 certayne and sure, that the infinite goodnes of  
 the diuine power neuer leueth such hartes desert  
 without succour and helpe, which with feruent  
 desyre and sure affiaunce, faithe, and truste an  
 nexed therto, diligently seke and inserche thereby  
 to haue the knowledge of truthe and honestie.

Mat. 23

.cmf

1. Pet. 2.

.cl. 25501

K. II.

And

1140133



# AN EXHORTATION

And lette this be a sure grounde stabled in your hartes, of the which you shal neuer be deceyued: for god neuer suffereth them by any meanes to be deluded, whiche put their affiance and truste in hym, as I doubte not but you doo. wherfore I wyll nowe procede vnto my purpose.

All though it be so mooste chysten people, that som of vs by blyndnes as I haue shewed before, haue our iugementes corrupte, the which thing dayely also openly to the worlde we testifie, yet excepte affection to myn owne countrey utterly blynd me also, this I thinke I may boldly & truly affirme, that for the mooste parte vniuersally, there is amonge vs as true chysten simplicitie & good religion, as there is in any other chistian nation: or at the least, this I may saye, that to haue the same stabled amonge vs, in wylle and desyre we gyue place to none other: And of this we haue euer had the same, syth Chyristis doctryne was fyrst amonge vs preched and taught. wherfore at the leest this wyll as presupposed, I take to be in vs, and take it also as no small grounde to the rest, whiche I shall say: For as wyse men wryte, he hath nowe halfe attayned vertue & honestie, that of hym selfe byngeth good wylle and desyre, to the attaynyng thereof. And our master Chyrist also this euer as chiefe ground, requirerth in vs, the reste by his spirite in our hartes euer fourmyng: Therfore nowe this presupposynge I shal procede to prescribe and declare vnto you certayn

Psal. 30.

Plato.

Iohan. 15.

certayne generall groundes, wherby you maye  
 concernyng some such thinges as nowe in these  
 dayes be in great contention, and so of the brack  
 of this spirituall vnitie a great occasion, so form  
 your iugementes with conueniēt knowlege and  
 obedience, that you may be in some parte better  
 deliuered, both from bayne and fals superstitiō,  
 and also from lyght and arrogāt opinion, wher-  
 in suche iugement as by longe redyng of scrip-  
 ture it hath pleased god to giue vnto me, and su-  
 che as I thinke al chriſten hartes to be fourmed  
 with all, bothe by conuenience and necessitie, su-  
 che iudgement I say I shall as it were in a lytel  
 table bryefely to you propose, beseeching you all  
 with the same hartes therin to loke, and with the  
 same affectes, the same to rede that I write hit  
 withal, the whiche I testifie god, who only seeth  
 the harte and priuie thought of man, is the very  
 same, wherwith I haue instruct myn own mynd  
 and consciēce: Requyryng you also that if I shall  
 appere vnto any of you in any parte to erre, and  
 corruptly to iudge, that it wylle please you with  
 the same mynde to admonyſhe me therof, that I  
 wryte to you with all. For euer I wyl be to hyper  
 iugement conſoꝛmable. And for bycause I wryte  
 not to them, which be of great lernyng, to whose  
 wysedome the thinges are better known than  
 they be vnto me, I wyl vse no longe processe nor  
 clerkely disputation, but to you mooste chriſten  
 people, whiche be not greatly lettered, I wyl di-



## AN EXHORTATION.

recte my communication, gatheringe in fewe wordes the somme and pithe of suche thinges, as I shall iudge conuenient, to your knowlege and capacitie.

And fyrste to the intent you may see of chrysten lyfe the excellent dignitie, and what ende chiefly a chrysten harte ought euer to loke vnto, and so fyrste surely to lay this grounde and foundation wher vnto euer we must moche of the rest of our communication, resolute and referre, as to the chiefe ende and principall of all, you must a lytle lyfte vpp your eyes, and as it were out of a hyer place, diligently behold the lyfe of man, and therin with som iugement loke, where you shall find that in man here in erthe, by the prouidence of god, set to passe a short and transitorie lyfe, there be as it were. ii. polytees. ii. dyuers manners of liuynge. ii. dyuers ways and fashions of passing this pilgrymage, of the whiche the one is heuently spirituall and godly, the other ciuile, natural, and worldely: what I meane by these. ii. lyues, I wylle bryefely to you declare. This ciuile and worldly lyfe, is to man naturall, and by nature to hym conuenient, wherein he hath by the onely and mere benefyte of nature, suche sedes and plantes of truthe and honestie in his harte rooted and planted, the whiche, yf by his owne negligent folpe, he suffered not by affection to be ouer runne, but with dyligence wolde folowe and nouryshe the same, they whiche I saye shulde

1. Corin. 3.

The politike  
lyfe.

shulde vndoubtedly bypunge hym to suche digni-  
 tie, as to the excellencye of his nature by nature  
 is due and conuenient, but bycause man is no  
 aungell, but hath a body frayle and corruptible,  
 subiecte to affectes and all corruption, therfore  
 law ciuile and politike rule entred into this lyfe,  
 & therin of necessite toke place, which is drawen  
 out & stabled vpon the groudes of nature, by her  
 benefite in mans hart plated & layd, to the which  
 groudes, ciuile lawes & ordynāces by wyse & pru-  
 dent policie, stabled in mans lyfe, so long as mā  
 is confor[m]able, so longe as man is by them go-  
 uerned and ledde, folowynge theym with obedi-  
 ence, other for feare and drede of punyshement  
 ensuyng their transgression, or for hope & truste  
 of perfyte pleasure or any other worldly thyng  
 annexed to their diligent obseruation, so long I  
 say mā lyueth lyke a ciuile polytike and worldly  
 man, and suche maner of lyuynge bryefely to say,  
 I iudge to be this cyuile naturall and worldly  
 lyfe, wherof now we speke. An other lyfe there  
 is, whiche I called heuenly spiritual and godly,  
 whiche is aboue the comon course of nature, not  
 receiuing her groudes of nature, nor of the comō  
 reson of mā, but of very reason it self, of the very  
 certayn & true reson of god, which is the very son  
 of god, by our mayster Chyste ioyned to the na-  
 ture of man, and by him to the worlde opened.  
 This reason is the very worde of god, and god  
 hym selfe by Chyste to manne kynde shewed,  
 whose

The necessi-  
 te of lawes

The spiri-  
 all lyfe

Iohan. 1. 9.



# AN EXHORTATION.

whose doctrine his disciples by mouthe taught,  
and by wrytynge haue lefte to our instruction.  
Howe be it here you muste vnderstande, that to  
the knowledge of this reasone, by mans reason  
man him self can not attayn, to this he is blynd,  
nature is not sufficient, but to the attaynyng of  
this reson, reson subdued, faith must be therin to  
him as it were a gyde, faith must gyue hym iu-  
gement and sight, & be as it were his eye, faith  
must shew vnto hym al the secreete misteries ther  
in: and shortly to say faith must lay al groundis  
in this lyfe, as nature dyd in the other. And lyke  
as in the ciuile and politike lyfe feare and hope  
euer ledde the politike man and worldly, to the  
observation of his lawes: so in this very heuily  
and spirituall lyfe, faith and loue, lede man made  
spiritual, makynge him by loue to lawes obedi-  
ent: in so moche that at the last by faithfull loue  
and charitable faith, man is brought to sure fe-  
licitie, and stablyshed in true libertie, that is to  
say, he is thereby deliuered from all corrupte and  
worldly affection, he is then free from synne and  
dethe, then vtterly credynge vnder foote, he is  
then deliuered from all daunger and feare ther-  
of, than he in this mortall lyfe passing the state &  
condicion of man, lyueth lyke no mortall man,  
but liueth like a Christe, like a god in erthe, and  
like reasone it selfe, neuer giuinge place to any  
affection, than he vnopeth suche spirituall com-  
foyte and pleasure in harte, as is moche easer

1. Corin. i.

Hebre. ii.

Gala. v.  
Con. liberte.

Philipp. 3.

for them to conceyue, which haue had gust & experience therof, thā for any mā by wordes to expresse this thinge, we whiche commonly gyue place to worldly affection, and with the burdeyn of this body suffre our selves to be oppressed, as it were a farre of, onely doo se. And euen lyke as we beholde the heuenly bodies, the sonne, the mone, with the other sterres, and planettes, haupnge no sure iudgement of the nature of them, no: yet of their quantite: so of this spiritual and heuenly lyfe, we se as it were in a clowde and a farre of the hye perfection and excellency, but the trewe iugement therof we do not conceyue, being blinded with bodily affectiō, and holly intent to this worldly polycie, by the besynes wherof and vanitie, we vtterly forgette this our high perfection and dignitie, the fulle declaration whereof I wyl not here attent, no: it is not my pourpose: onely this I wolde by these fewe wordes leade you vnto the consyderation with your selfe, of pure christianitie, the which after this rude and bryefe description of these. ii. lyues, which I haue gathered out of the doctrine of Poule, shall not be moche harde for you to conceyue: for though these. ii. lyues of their owne nature be distincte and dyuers, for as moche as the one is common to all mankynde, for whether they be Jewes, Saracynes, Turkes, or Mores, in som polycie they must agree, withoute the which is no ciuilitie: though I say in them selfe, they be dyuers, yet in

2. Timoth. 2.

Math. 5.



# AN EXHORTATION

vs chriſten men, they in one muſt perfitly agree,  
 they muſt conſent, and in the perſyte couplynge  
 therof reſteth the conſeruatiō of this ſpirituall  
 vnitie, the whiche of neceſſitie dothe require in  
 common policie a certayn conſent and ſure agre-  
 ment. For this is a ſure truthe, that worldly po-  
 licie qualiſyed with charitie, is therby conuerted  
 into chriſten ciuilitie, in our lyfe, whiche be chri-  
 ſten men, one of theym is the waye to the other,  
 one of them to the other is ſo knytte and ioyned,  
 that the one without the other can not longe en-  
 dure, the one without the other ſhortly wll de-  
 cay. For euen like as the ciuile lyfe politike & ſe-  
 perate from peace and vnite, longe by no meane  
 maye be maynteyned without deſtruction: ſo the  
 ſpirituall lyfe and heuenly withoute reſpecte of  
 common polycie, ſhortly by neceſſitie ſhall falle  
 to confuſion. Wherefore this muſt be taken as a  
 ſure and common grounde, that in al chriſten ci-  
 uilitie of greatte and hygh neceſſitie to all ſuche  
 thinges, as by common authoritie are ſtabliſhed  
 and fouēded, without repugnance to the ſpiritu-  
 all vnitie and manifeſte doctrine of Chriſte, the  
 people muſt euer be obedient, to all ſuche thyn-  
 ges with gladde harte they muſt euer agree and  
 conſent. For of this we haue in Chriſtis doctrine  
 in many places manifeſt commandement, bothe  
 of Peter and of Poule in their holy epiſtles, ye  
 and Chriſte him ſelfe ſayd, he came not to breake  
 ſuch thinges, as by cōmon lawe were receyued,  
 but

Chriſten ci-  
uilitie.

Tit. 3.

Hebr. 13.

but rather to stablyshe, confirme, and make perfect the same, as bothe his lyfe and his doctrine manifestly declare. For where as befoze chrysten men obserued lawes onely by feare of punyschement, Chyrist wold haue his flocke to be obedient and fulfyll the same only by loue, & by none other outwarde respecte. And therfoze his doctrine is as a corner stone, agreinge to al polycie, and determining therin no certayne kynde at al, but as wel may the pfection of Chyristis doctrine be fulfilled in that state, where as be many heedes and dyuers politticall, as there as is but one chiefe & principal: So long as policie and lawes thereby stablyshed and set, breke not the groundes of spirituall vnitie, there is no repugnāce to be made of those which be humble subiectes, meke & obedient to such thinges as be receiued by cōmon assent. This thing dere frendes I oft inculke and reherse, bicause if it be wel and throughe percerued, and in our hartes surely grounded, it shall minister vnto vs a great grounde & occasion, to pluck vp by the rootis this fals superstition, which in these days disquieteth so many mens feble & weake consciences without reason: And specially if to this we ioyne an other grounde, whereby you shall be brought mozte chrysten people somewhat to conceiue a diuersite and plain differēce, betwixt such thinges as be of playne necessitie, & of them self by nature good, and such as be only of a certain cōueniency, & by nature be indifferēt.

L.ii.

The

Math. 3.  
Roman. 13.

1. Pet. 2.



## AN EXHORTATION.

The lacke of the iugement and discretion wherof, hath gyuen great occasion to stablish in many mens hartes this bayn superstition, and is also no small cause of proude arrogant opinion. For the conceyving wherof, this dere frendes you must vnderstonde, that lyke as I sayde before in the lyfe mere polytyke & worldly, there be certain groundes, whiche of necessitie, must euer be conserued, and neuer suffre dispensation: and other thinges there be, whiche as tyme and place doth require, euer by lawe ciuile and polycie maye be altered and suffre abrogation: so in the godly life and spirituall, there be also certayne groundes, wherein is founded this spirituall vnitie, whiche by no mans policie maye be chaunged, but euer must stand stable and firme without innouatio. And other thynges also there be, whiche by common authoritie maye be remoued, abrogate, and utterly put awaye, and stonde onely by conueniency, and haue their power onely of the consent of the hole congregation: as by example, this thing to declare somewhat moze at large, groundes these be of the polytyke lyfe, honour to be done to the diuine nature, whiche gouerneth all, reuerence to be had to our parentes, which haue laboured to brynge vs into the lyght, cure to be had of those whiche come of vs by naturall procreation, to be beneficiall to them, whiche be in necessitie, and to repell from our selves all iniurie. And in conclusion all suche thinges whiche  
of

Thynge necessarye and  
common groundes of cyp-  
sytie.

of lawe ciuile stablyshed, taketh not full power,  
 but haue their strength of the true iugement of  
 naturall reason, pure and not corrupte by affec-  
 tion, all suche be groundes in natural law: thin-  
 ges resting in policie and ciuile constitution, be-  
 inge of nature indifferent, be infinite, and for the  
 tyme and place euer variable, as somme tymes  
 thynges of marchandysse to command to bringe  
 in, and sometyme the same to prohibite, sometyme  
 money of the people by taxe to be gathered,  
 and some tyme the same contrary to restore, is to  
 good policie righte conuenient. Lyke as in some  
 places, the eldest sonne to succede in the hole in-  
 heritance for the maynteynyng of the familie, is  
 of some iudged good policie: and in some other  
 places it is playn iniury, so that al such thing as  
 time & place with other circūstance doth require,  
 so euer they be by the iudgement of wyse men &  
 politike, to be chaunged of conueniencye, whan  
 to them is gyuen full authozite to alter & change  
 theym with free lybertie. And lyke maner in the  
 lyfe spiritual certayn groundes as I sayd, there  
 be, whiche must euer be taken as fyme and sta-  
 ble, as Chyist to discende from the bosome of his  
 father, to be made man for mannes redemption,  
 the fayth and truste in hym and in his promyses  
 to be sufficient for mannes saluation, the workis  
 of man ciuile without faythe, not to be of power  
 to serue to mans iustification, the mysteries of  
 Chyiste by his sacramentes to faythfull myndes  
 to be

Roman. 8.

Gala. 5.

Tit. 3.

A. iii.



# AN EXHORTATION.

to be cōmuned. And bꝛefly to say, al such thinges  
as in Chꝛistis gospel by expresse cōmandmēt, ey-  
ther of our master Chꝛiste, oꝛ of his holy apostles  
& disciples be to vs giuen & taught, all such be of  
mere necessitie, & not indifferēt, & by no power in  
erth suffre abꝛogatiō: but cōtrary al other thiges  
pteining to this spirituall polycie, whiche be not  
cōteyned in þ gospel expꝛessely, oꝛ deduced of the  
same surely, as rites customes and traditions of  
fathers, hauing no groūd but only by pꝛscription  
of time, al such may be alterid by good oꝛder & po-  
licie, whā it shal appere to thē which haue autho-  
rite so conueniēt, as the foꝛbiddig of scripture to  
be red i þ mother tonge, & in the churches so to be  
reherſid, sometime was not without consideratiō,  
where as now to many it may otherwise appere,  
as it doth of pꝛistes mariage, foundyng of chan-  
tries, buylding of monasteries, popes pardons,  
institution of holy dayes, which al with many o-  
ther of þ same soꝛte & nature, to wyse mē nowe a  
dais apere plainly to be growē to an iniust extre-  
mite. wherfoꝛe to alter thē it is thought not with-  
out gret cause highly expedient, & to the institu-  
tion of Chꝛistis true doctrine very pꝛfitable & cō-  
uenient, the whiche by mans constitution & cere-  
mony is vndoutedly moch obscured, & the purite  
therof almost put out of memoꝛie: in so moche þ  
many men being in that behalf somewhat super-  
stitious, iuge in these cōstitutions & ceremonies  
to stand moche of Chꝛistis religion, to the which  
per-

Matt. 15.

Things in-  
different.

A. name of

2. 1. 1. 1.

1. 1. 1.

1. 1. 1.

1. 1. 1.

perswasion brought they are for lacke of this discretion betwixt thinges of necessite, & such as be but only profitable and conveniently for the time institute, to the conseruation of the other whiche be groundes necessary, of the which sort without faile be al rites & constitutions ecclesiastical: and yet I do not thynk þ by & by they be vtterly to be cōdeinned, as many do with arrogāt opinion, because they be not of this necessitie & in scripture expessed. For our master Christ, of whom I take this ground, where as he in diuers places puttith difference betwixt his cōmandment & mans tradition, he I say him selfe cōmandeth vs cōtrary, byddyng vs to fulfyl his cōmandment, & yet not to leue & vtterly pretermpt the tradition, for such thinges which of long custom haue ben receiued are not so without order to be plucked away, but they require good consideration and pondering of some manifest detriment & hurte, to very true religion, befoze they be vtterly put away, & not after the iugement of euery lyght brayne so to be condēned, as thinges pñcious to al christen ciuilitie. For al though som of thē be very vnprofitable & to true religiō an open impedimēt, yet som other there be which be as good & conueniēt menes, to induce rude & simple mindes to cōceyue the misteries of Christ, & to kepe as by signes the memory of the same. Notwithstāding, this again is true, vpon the other side þ none of thē be of such necessitie, þ the altering of thē shuld bring in vtterly the

ruine

Manh. 23.

Ephc. 4.



# AN EXHORTATION.

ruine of religion. wherfoze with suche superstition and sturdy obstinacye, they ought not to be defended, as many men thynke, for lacke of the sure conceyvinge of this grounde, whiche nowe you haue harde in few wordes touched, the whiche grounde if it had ben stabled in the hartes of some of them, whiche for their disobedience by superstytion conceyued, lately haue suffered, they wolde not peraduenture so heedlyngly haue runne to their dethe, the whiche they so gladly suffered, induced by corrupt opinion: for perswaded they were, that the vnitie of Christis church coulde not by any case maynteyned be, withoute this longe vsurped superiortie, whiche the byshoppe of Rome hath of many yeres by the simplicitie of christen people be magnified in, and that such a heed shuld be stablyshed by the word and doctrine of Christe, here in his church of necessitie, and not to be a thyng of nature indifferent: & that he shuld also be the vicar of god and vniuersall iudge of all christianitie. This was their perswasion, whiche is the chiefe key of all superstition, this is as it were the fountayne and grounde of all other lyke abusyon. wherfoze all be it that this ground by the hys prouidence of our most noble prince, and by common authoritie here in our nation, be soo vtterly abrogate and plucked away, that among you most christen people there is none I thynke so ferre from wit and iudgement, that wyl theragaynst repugne, but

but as true subiectes be therto obedient: yet for the instruction of some weake consciences, whiche by some fals perswasion, perauenture maye yet be troubled with some scrupulosite therof, I haue thought conuenient nowe in this place, as I promysed befoze, somewhat to say touching the chiefe poyntes, wherby I haue fourmed myne owne iudgement with knowlege and due obedience, to the intent that you also mooste chzistian people, conceyuing the nature of the thyng as it is in dede, indifferent, may with harte and conscience be therto gladlyer obedient, and not only by feare of common punyshment. wherfoze the nature of the thyng as it is in it selfe plainly, as farre as my wpt and lernynge wyl serue, in fewe wordes I shall open vnto you indifferently.

After the tyme that I had exercysed a parte of my youthe in secular studies and in philosophy, and therby formed my iugemēt with som knowlege of nature, and of thinges perteynyng to the maners of man in the ciuile and polytike lyfe, I toke streight forth holy scripture in hande, thereby to instructe my mynde with the lyghte of the doctrine of Chziste, the onely comforte of true & faithful hartes, to the which ende al my labours and studies in other kynde of letters I euer referred & directed, as to the thing, which all Chzistis scholars oughte euer to loke vnto. But as sone as I hadde exercysed my selfe a fewe yeres therein, and some lyght of iugement by the com-



fort of Christis spirit gathered in the same, wher  
 by I myght the better discerne thinges, whiche  
 stonde in worldly polycie, from the groundes of  
 scripture and pure christianitie: and as soone as  
 I hadde conceyued with my selfe the perfection  
 therof, the sincere simplicitie conteyned therein,  
 and the quietnes of faythefull hartes and pure  
 consciences, whiche to the stablyshynge therof,  
 was surely adioyned, I began with my selfe soze  
 to lament, to se and consider the state of þ world  
 cōmonly, howe far it was slypped from that he-  
 uenly perfection, and celestial conuersation, and  
 both with my selfe diuers and sondry tymes, and  
 with other with whom in studies I was cōuer-  
 sant, of the causes therof I beganne to consider  
 and reasone: in the enserchynge wherof, all be it  
 many and dyuers causes I founde, whiche now  
 to reherse were ouer longe, & not to my purpose:  
 Yet this I wyl say dere frendes nowe vnto you,  
 that fewe other I se of gretter efficacy, than this  
 vsurped long and many yeres superiortie of the  
 pope, whyche for the maynteynyng of his au-  
 thorite vnder the cloke of religion, hath brough-  
 in amonge chysten nations moche fals supersti-  
 tion, and for the mayntenance of his hye pride &  
 cloked tiranny, hath amonge chyste p̄ncis ma-  
 ny tymes to the greatte ruine of common quiet-  
 nes, sette greatte diuision. For who is he that of  
 stozpe hath any consideration, whiche playnely  
 dothe not see, how fewe chysten p̄ncis there be,  
 whiche

whiche for the settinge vpp of this arrogancy, hath not ones one agayne an other drawen their swerdes, to the great effusion of christen blode, and ruine of all good ciuyltie, ye and yet which is worst of all, they haue ben perswaded thereby to sette vp Christis honour and religion: O lord what a blyndnes was this reigynge in princis hartes, and what a superstition one christen man to kyll an other vnder the pretext of Christis religion: And as for the abuses of that authoritie as well in pardons and dispensations as in interdictes and excommunication, I thynke there is no man so blynd, no no: yet nation so farre from iudgemente, no: so farre from the common sense and trewe consyderation, the whyche that dothe not see, and obserue. For amonge christen men no nation there is, whiche beyng obedyente to that authoritie, hath not felte by pyllynge and pollynge, and tyrannycalle exaction, euer couered with the pretexte of religion, of these abuses the playne and manyfeste experyence. This thynge I haue obserued dere frendes longe and many a daye, not withoute greatte sorowe and dolour of mynde, and yet somme hope euer I haue hadde ones to see, of these thynges a iuste and a true reformation, as welle in other countreys and nations as here at home in our owne nation. This hope I hadde, wherwith I very moche eased my sorowe and doloure, luyng in great desyre to see the thynge putte in effecte.



# AN EXHORTATION.

Wherfore dere frendes now of late, at such time  
 as I retourned oute of Italye, hyther home to  
 myn owne countrey, here to finyshe in quietnesse  
 the reste of my lyfe, seruyng our p[ri]nce, if I were  
 in any poynt able, to the whiche ende of youthe  
 I appoynted all my studies: whan I retourned  
 I say, and sawe this thinge partly put in effect,  
 whiche I soo longe desyred, the whiche desyre I  
 testifie god was to his honour, what ioye, what  
 gladnes in my hart and mynde, I therof concei-  
 ued, I wyll not now be about to you by wordes  
 largely to expresse. But this I wil say vnto you,  
 the gladnesse that I conceyued of pluckynge a-  
 waye this superio[ri]tie, was not so moche for the  
 stopping of the profites, which to the imparyng  
 of this realme, was no small thing, wherein the  
 mooste parte of mens eyes are chiefly fxyed, as it  
 was for the hope I had of the refo[rm]ynge of co-  
 mon religion, and of the purgynge of bayne su-  
 perstition, wherwith many symple myndes here  
 in our nation, haue ben greatly infect: the chiefe  
 cause wherof hath bene this superio[ri]tie of the  
 see of Rome: in so moche that this I thinke tru-  
 ly I may say, that euen as Rome by mekenes &  
 charitie, was the fyrst occasion of communynge  
 and propagation, y<sup>e</sup> and stablyng also long and  
 many yeres of Ch[ri]stis doctrine and true religi-  
 on here in our nation, so now the same by pryde  
 and arrogancy, by processe of tyme hath ben the  
 chiefe and p[ri]ncipall occasion, of ouermoche ex-  
 tollynge

tollynge mans tradition, and the very open gate  
of all superstition, so that now by the stopping  
of this gate, great hope I haue ones yet to see,  
Christis doctrine restored agayn to the pure and  
natiue simplicitie, and to the olde simple purite.  
And to the conceyninge of this hope moche mo-  
ued I am by the hye vertues of our moste noble  
prince, whose highnes boldly I dare affirme, no  
thing moze desyreth, than the restitution of Chri-  
stis true doctrine here in our nation, and that to  
see flourish in the hartis of his subiectes, decla-  
ringe in lyfe the frute of the same. To this ten-  
deth all the cures, thoughtes, actes, and dedes  
of his royall maiestie. wherfore me semeth not  
without a cause my hope is conceyued, if this be  
true that all antiquitie hath approued, suche as  
be princis, suche be their subiectes, whose trace  
euer foloweth all the commynaltie. Seing ther-  
fore oure prince to be of this pourpose and de-  
syre, and of suche iudgemente and policie, that  
beste he knowethe the meane of the restitution  
hereof, why shulde not I conceyue this gladde-  
nes, and stable hit in my harte? why shoulde not  
I reioyse, or rather why shuld not all we be glad  
and reioyse most christe people? Truly we ought  
to gyue thanks to almyghty god, by whose pro-  
uidence, we haue this noble prince now reigning  
in our tyme. And surely I doubte not, but that  
the goodnes of god, who hath inspired his harte  
with lyght and iugement to conceyue the ground



## A N E X H O R T A T I O N .

of this popes supertozitie, and to his honour to plucke hit downe, shall also gyue hym the same lyght and grace to fynde out all conuenient me-  
 nes to the mayntenance of the same, that it may  
 pꝛocede with a common quietnesse bothe to the  
 comfoꝛte of our pꝛesent age and of the posterite,  
 and that so therby hereafter may succede the re-  
 stitution of the pure doctrine of Chꝛiste and syn-  
 cere religion, with the pouꝛgynge of all fals and  
 vayne superstition: This is my hope and this is  
 my truste, of the whiche as I sayd at my retoꝛne  
 here into my countrey, great gladnes I concep-  
 ued, the whiche contynually I nouryshe in my  
 harte, with sure hope dayly the same to increase,  
 howe be it herin I fynde the nature of mannes  
 affecte, and that to be trewe whiche of the wyle  
 and auncyent Socrates, ofte was reherseed, that  
 in mannes affecte, plesure and peyn, soꝛowe and  
 ioye, were neuer seperate, but as the partes of a  
 tynge euer coupled togyther, and euer knyt one  
 to the other, as it were by a common chayne. Foꝛ  
 thoughe it be soo that of this acte of pluckyng  
 downe this popyshe authozitie, moſte iustely as  
 me semeth I haue conceived this gladnesse, yet  
 it is not perſyte and ſyncere, there is in my harte  
 a certayne ſoꝛowe myngled with the same, whi-  
 che hath moche defaced my gladdenes and ioye.  
 Foꝛ ſoꝛy I am & of the very hart, to ſe that thing  
 whiche you all moſte chꝛiſten people, I am ſure  
 with no leſſe ſoꝛowe lately haue ſene, that is to  
 ſay,

say, to see so noble an acte, so good and so profytable, so open a gate to the restoringe and stablyshynge here amonge vs a very true and comon weale, whiche coulde neuer lyghtly haue hadde place, standynge this outward and tyrannicall authoritie. For euer it shuld to þ prince haue ben a lette and an obstacle, at suche tyme as he shuld attempte any refourmyng of true religion, to see I say ageynst so noble an acte, suche men repugne, suche men to be disobedient, whose vertues I euer trusted shoulde haue benne to oure prince, to whyng the restitution of his true comon weale a chiefe instrumente. For what vertues were in somme of them, superstitious simplicitie set a syde, all the worlde knoweth. Wherfore suche vertues so to be corrupt with superstition, that therby they shuld be induced to be disobedient to their prince, and to suche holsome lawes, I can not but of hart sore to lament, I can not but be sorrowfull, that suche blyndnes shulde be ioyned to such knowlege, & such vertue shulde be blurr'd with such vice, & such an acte so wisely conceyued shulde be blotted with disobedience so folyshly declared. This maketh me sore & sore in hart to lament, and truly to saye not so moche for their causes, who for theyr disobedience, accordynge to the course of lawe, iustely haue suffered, as for yours mooste christian people, whose symple and weake consciences, not able peraduenture well to conceyue the nature of thynges,



## A N E X H O R T A T I O N .

as they be in dede, by their disobedience and stur-  
dy obstinacie, may in some part perauenture be  
moued to conceyue of this acte some scrupulo-  
sitie, by the reason whereof in you may succede,  
disquietnes of mynd, diuersly drawen by diuers  
obedience. wherfoze partly to the auoydyinge of  
myn owne sorow conceyued by suspicion of your  
simplicitie, and partly to do my duetie in setting  
foz the of so manifest a truthe, I shall as bze-  
fely and clerely as I can set befoze your eies, the na-  
ture of þ thing, vsinge therein no longe scholasti-  
call disputation, and this processe obserue. Fyrst  
I wyll shewe vnto you, that this superiotie is  
not of the law of god, prescribed vnto vs foz the  
necessitie of our saluation, but þ it is a thyng in-  
different, the disobedience wherof, bringeth not to  
our sowles damnation. Secondly I wyll shewe  
you, howe it fyrst grewe in, as a thinge conueni-  
ent, and to the conseruation of the vnitie of Chy-  
stis church expedient. Thirde I shall declare  
howe that as it hath bene many yeres vsurped,  
it is to the very spirituall vnitie, nother necessa-  
rye noz yet conuenient: and so I truste somme-  
what the better your consciences shall be delyue-  
red, from suche scrupulositie, as may take from  
your myndes chrysten quietnes and vnite.

And fyrst most chrysten people this is of you al  
as most open and manifest, to be taken as a sure  
truthe, that all be it the olde testamente, wherin  
god to the people of Israel declared his first wil,  
be

he called the scripture of god, and his very lawe :  
 yet for as moche as Paule testifieth, all thinges  
 to them as in a shadowe grossely there to be shew-  
 ed, accordyng to their rude capacite, the which  
 to vs after clerely were opened by our mayster  
 Chryste, to whose gloze all the lawe tended. we  
 therfore may say all the lawe of god in Chryste to  
 be as in a somme conteyned, who is the perfecti-  
 on and ende of all lawe, it is he only that in the  
 olde lawe was figured, and now in the newe law  
 of the gospell openly is to vs declared: in so mo-  
 che that this boldely we maye asseure, goddis  
 lawe holly and perfittely in the gospell to be con-  
 teyned, for as moche as Chryst, in whom all law  
 of god is fully as in a some gathered, is there to  
 vs clerely taught, & nothig to be necessary to our  
 saluatiō, wherof in y<sup>e</sup> gospell we haue not expresse  
 mention, or at the leste oute of that deduced by  
 some certayne reason, and open demonstration.  
 For as touching the traditiōs of faders, though  
 they be inoche expedient to the increse and main-  
 tenance of Chrystis gospell and truthe, yet of su-  
 che strength and power they be not, that to their  
 obseruation, we be of necessity bounden, vn-  
 der peyne of vtter damnation, nor yet they be not  
 of any suche necessity, that to the alteration of  
 them, ye or vtter abrogation, ensueth by and by  
 the ruyne and destruction of all chrysten ciuilitie  
 and religion. wherfore though it were soo, as it  
 is not in dede, that this superiortie of the pope,

1. Corin. 10.

Ephes. 1.

Coloss. 1.

Roman. 8.

Marc. 7.

R

were



# AN EXHORTATION.

were to vs by tradition descended & giuen, yet it  
 is not of this nature and necessitie, that with-  
 out hit we can not attayne to our saluation. For  
 by suche bonde no chriſten nation, at anye tyme  
 receyued any mans tradition. This therfore we  
 may affirme now dere frendes, as ſure and true,  
 that if we can not fynde this ſuperioritie clerely  
 vnto vs in the goſpell expreſſed, nor of the ſame  
 manifeſtly deduced by clere interpretation, it is  
 not to our ſaluation of hye neceſſitie: the whiche  
 thinge to ſeke, and out of the goſpell to pryke, I  
 thynke is lyke, as to ſeke and to pryke darkeneſſe  
 out of the lyght. For to my iugement all thynges  
 there indifferently weyinge, all appereth playne  
 contrary: in ſo moche that to me conſidering the  
 ſome and hole cours of Chriſtis doctrine, he ſe-  
 med nothinge leſſe to go about, than to ſtablyſhe  
 amonge his diſciples, and amonge theym that  
 wold make profeſſion of his name, any ſuch ſu-  
 perioritie: but leuyng all ſuch thynges to prin-  
 ces worldly polycie, purpoſed to drawe the har-  
 tes of his ſcholers from all ſuch ambitious and  
 vayne deſyre, and turne them to the ſight and cō-  
 templation of ſuch thynges, as be ceſtial, and  
 of nature pure and euerlaſting, ſeperate from al  
 this worldly vanitie, euer wylling them to hang  
 vpon the deſyre of ſuch thynges, as byetherne  
 to gether knytte in a certayn equalite, vtterly ex-  
 cludyng al cōtention for any maner ſuperiorite:  
 he euer taught his diſciples as members of one  
 body

Agaynſt the  
 popes authori-  
 tytie.

Matth. 23.

body, coupled together in perfect loue and vnite,  
 to hang vpon him only, as vpon the true heed &  
 fountayn of al suche thynges, as they shuld euer  
 despyre, leauyng the order of al worldly thinges,  
 as I saide, to suche as by office haue cure of the  
 same: for as moch as that perteyneth to world-  
 ly policie, wherof he wolde haue his disciples to  
 haue in a maner cōtempt, & to be in the world as  
 out of the worlde, & rather to refuse al suche besy  
 policie & careful study of transitorie thinges, thā  
 therby to be let from the office of pure christiantie,  
 which chiefly doth rest & stonde in this with  
 despisyng of all such thinges, with feruent hart  
 and affection euer to despyre thinges, euerlastyng  
 and eternall. To this runeth the course of al Chri-  
 stis doctrine, which by his mouth he taught, & by  
 his disciples to vs in wryting hath left, in so mo-  
 che that of his doctrine to gether, that amōg his  
 disciples, he shuld stablish any suche superiōrite, &  
 so therby to deriue it to the bishoppe of Rome, is  
 manifestly to turne al thing vpon so down, & to the  
 cleane cōtrary: the which thinge Christ him selfe  
 in dyuers places of his gospel particularly doth  
 teache & expresse. For where as his disciples not  
 yet perfecte nor lyghted with his spirite, but ha-  
 uynge a lyttel of the spirite of the worlde, stroue  
 amonge theym selfe for superiōrite of place, he  
 made aunswere, instructinge them this, Princis  
 of the worlde, and other, whyche haue not as  
 yet the heuenly gyste, stryue for suche thynges,

Ioan. 17.

Math. 19.

Marc. 10.

A. ii.

as



# AN EXHORTATION.

as they whiche haue they? hartes fyled therin.  
 But you whom I wolde haue to conceyue other  
 desires, shal not do so, for as moche as all suche  
 contention cometh of playne arrogancye, frome  
 the whiche I wolde haue you vtterly to abhorre,  
 and stablynge in your hartes by humilitie, the  
 contempte of all suche thynges, contende alway  
 to the desyre of the heuenly and celestiall, to the  
 whiche if you wyll attayne, euen as this chylde  
 here stondynge amonge you, liueth in simplicitie  
 vtterly without care of worldly vantage, so must  
 you leaue asyde all contention for all world-  
 ly thinge, and all superiortie, beare hartes pure  
 without affection, euer lokynge vp to the heuen-  
 ly conuersation, therin settynge all your comfort  
 and ioye, after this sentence Christe answered to  
 his disciples, stryuinge amonge them selves for  
 superiortie, moued by ambition: wherin he ma-  
 nifestly declareth, that if he had purposed to sta-  
 blyshe amonge them any order of superiortie or  
 degree, he wolde then moued therof haue made  
 some mention, commandynge the reste to gyue  
 obedience, to suche heed and order: but in all the  
 course of his doctrine, you shall neuer fynde any  
 mention or memozy of suche institution and po-  
 lycie. For this is a sure thyng of you all to be  
 taken as mooste true, that the chief poynt of Chri-  
 stis doctryne stonde the in this, to perswade all  
 those, whiche wolde be his true disciples, this to  
 conceiue, as a chiefe grounde with obedience to  
 all

Matt. 18

The ende of  
 Christis do-  
 ctryne.

al worldly policie, not beinge contrary to þe glory  
of god, to vse these worldly thiges as passingers  
& pylgrims, nothyng restinge therby, & to be in  
the worlde, as out of the worlde, and to vse this  
lyfe as a meane to lyfe, wherof this is but a sha-  
dowe, puttynge no affiance nor truste therein, but  
holly to hange vpon hym, who is the onely foun-  
tayne of all goodnesse and trueth, and with the  
desyre therof to haue their hartes euer inflamed,  
with vtter contempte of all suche thynges, whi-  
che therto do put any obstacle and impedimente.  
This vndoutedly is as it were the marke, which  
our master Christ hath before our eyes set, wher-  
at he wolde haue vs euer continually to shoote:  
this is as it were the hauē, to the which he wolde  
haue vs to direct our course, saylyng in the trou-  
blous stormes of this lyfe: and this to stablyshe  
in our hartes was his chiefe purpose, and so to  
institute in vs the spiritual lyfe and godly, wher-  
of before I haue made mention: And as for the  
worldely lyfe and polytyke, he came not nowe to  
stable nor institute, whiche by the benefyte of na-  
ture he hadde before sufficiently founded, but he  
came to bringe vs to an hygher perfection, and  
to make vs playne spirituall, treadinge vnder  
foote all thynges temporal. And this is not my  
fantasy and dreame, Christe by his owne worde  
manifestly dyd expresse it many tymes, sayeng,  
He cam not into this world to reigne nor to rule,  
but to minister vnto vs heuenly doctrine, and to  
exhort

1. Corin. 7.

Matth. 10.

Iohan. 17.  
Luc. 22.



# AN EXHORTATION.

as they whiche haue they? hartes fyled therin.  
 But you whom I wolde haue to conceyue other  
 desires, shal not do so, for as moche as all suche  
 contention cometh of playne arrogancie, frome  
 the whiche I wolde haue you vtterly to abhorre,  
 and stablynge in your hartes by humilitie, the  
 contempte of all suche thynges, contende alway  
 to the desyre of the heuenly and celestiall, to the  
 whiche if you wyl attayne, euen as this chylde  
 here stondynge amonge you, liueth in simplicitie  
 vtterly without care of worldly vantage, so must  
 you leaue asyde all contention for all world-  
 ly thinge, and all superiortie, beare hartes pure  
 without affection, euer lokynge vp to the heuen-  
 ly conuersation, therein settynge all your comfort  
 and ioye, after this sentence Chyriste answered to  
 his disciples, stryue amonge them selves for  
 superiortie, moued by ambition: wherin he ma-  
 nifestly declareth, that if he had purposed to sta-  
 blyshe amonge them any order of superiortie or  
 degree, he wolde then moued therof haue made  
 some mention, commandynge the reste to geue  
 obedience, to suche heed and order: but in all the  
 course of his doctrine, you shall neuer fynde any  
 mention or memoery of suche institution and po-  
 lycie. For this is a sure thyng of you all to be  
 taken as moste true, that the chief poynt of Chri-  
 stis doctrine stonde the in this, to perswade all  
 those, whiche wolde be his true disciples, this to  
 conceiue, as a chiefe grounde with obedience to  
 all

Matt. 18

The ende of  
 Chyristis do-  
 ctryne.

al worldly policie, not beinge contrary to þe glory  
of god, to vse these worldly thiges as passingers  
& pylgrims, nothyng restinge therby, & to be in  
the worlde, as out of the worlde, and to vse this  
lyfe as a meane to lyfe, wherof this is but a sha-  
dowe, puttynge no affiance nor truste therein, but  
holly to hange vpon hym, who is the onely foun-  
tayne of all goodnesse and truthe, and with the  
desyre therof to haue their hartes euer inflamed,  
with vtter contempte of all suche thynges, whi-  
che therto do put any obstacle and impedimente.  
This vndoutedly is as it were the marke, which  
our master Chriſt hath befoze our eyes set, wher-  
at he wolde haue vs euer continually to shoote:  
this is as it were the hauē, to the which he wolde  
haue vs to direct our course, saylpyng in the trou-  
blous stormes of this lyfe: and this to stablyſhe  
in our hartes was his chiefe purpose, and so to  
institute in vs the spiritual lyfe and godly, wher-  
of befoze I haue made mention: And as for the  
worldely lyfe and polytyke, he came not nowe to  
stable nor institute, whiche by the benefyte of na-  
ture he hadde befoze sufficiently founded, but he  
came to bringe vs to an hygher perfection, and  
to make vs playne spirituall, treadinge vnder  
foote all thynges tempoꝛal. And this is not my  
fantasy and dreame, Chriſte by his owne worde  
manifestly dyd expresse it many tymes, sayeng,  
He cam not into this world to reigne nor to rule,  
but to minister vnto vs heuenly doctrine, and to  
exhort

1. Corin. 7.

Math. 10.

Iohan. 17.  
Luc. 22.



# AN EXHORTATION.

Luc. 12.

Matt. 22.

Matt. 22.

Matt. 22.

Matt. 27.

Matt. 27.

Matt. 27.

Matt. 27.

erhozte vs to contemne those thynges, whiche so  
 blynd cōmonly mans hart, he sayd oft, his kyng-  
 dome was not of this world: whiche is most ma-  
 nyfest in this, that he neuer taught one poynt of  
 worldely policie, but euer refused the institution  
 and direction therof, as to him he made answer,  
 whiche required the diuision of his inheritāce by  
 his iugemēt, sayeng, who hath made me a iudge  
 in suche matters, the which to redresse is not my  
 purpose: & to him that p̄sētēd befoze him a pece  
 of money with the image of themperour, he bad  
 render that to hym, for therewith I haue nothing  
 to do, but to god gyue thy harte and affection of  
 pure mynde, whose image is there p̄ynted and  
 sette, as of hym, who is onely lordc therof. This  
 euer he refused the cure of suche thynges, as per-  
 tayne and belonge vnto the cyuile and polytyke  
 lyfe, and yet to them he was euer obedient, as the  
 hole course of his lyfe manifestly doth declare.  
 He was circūcysed and purified, he kept the sab-  
 bot daye, and was baptysed, he payde tribute to  
 the p̄ince, yē and to the hole lawe was so obedi-  
 ent, that accordyng to the course therof he suf-  
 fered his deathe, the whiche all he dyd for our in-  
 struction, teachyng vs neuer to dyspyse, noꝛ to  
 be disobediente to suche thynges as by common  
 authoritie is commonly receyued, but euer with  
 humble and meke obedience, therto contende,  
 and desyre to attayne the fruition of suche thin-  
 ges as neuer shall fayle noꝛ decaye. Wherfore  
 Dere

dere frendes, seinge that the doctrine of our ma-  
 ster Chyste is of this sorte, euer drawynge vs  
 frome the loue of this worlde to hygher consyde-  
 ration, forbyddynge vs vtterlye all contention  
 for any superiortie of order and degree, leauing  
 all suche thynges to ciuile and worldly polycie,  
 the instytution whereof he euer refused, as a  
 thyng base and vyle compared to that doctrine  
 whiche he euer taughte. All this consyderynge  
 I saye, and well ponderynge in mynde indiffe-  
 rentely, to asseyre, that Chyste stablyshed a-  
 monge his disciples any suche superiortie, ma-  
 kyng therby Peter chiefe heed, and also conse-  
 quently the byshoppe of Rome, that he therby  
 vppon all chrestendome shoulde be a chiefe iuge,  
 and vppon all pryncis and lawes to haue autho-  
 ritie with interdictes and dispensation, theyn to  
 tempze and reule at pleasure, ye and vppon the  
 worde of god alone to haue power of interpreta-  
 tion: this to my iudgement, whan I weye the  
 thinge with my selfe, appereth to me, moze than  
 madnes and extreme folie. For this passethe all  
 pryde and arrogancy, this is aboue all tyranny,  
 Chysten nations were neuer so madde, by any o-  
 pen decree or consent in counsell generalle, euer  
 to gyue to any one manne, suche authoritie: but  
 vndoubtedly by the symplitie of chysten peo-  
 ple, and by the pacience of good pryncis, ye and  
 by the arrogancye and pryde of those, the why-  
 che haue bled and occupied the See of Rome,  
 it is



it is growē by litle & litle into this intollerable ttrāny: the which after this sort as it is vñed, to affirmē to be of the lawe of god, and of necessite, is playn cōtrary to the law of god, and moch to the obscurynge of his glozy. But yf you wyl se dere frendes the authoritie of Peter, whiche to all o-ther apostels was equally gyuen, withoute any superiozitie, shortly I shal declare it vnto you.

Lyke as the lyfe whiche Chyste came to institute, and stablyshe in the hartes of them, whiche wolde folowe him, was of an other sorte and degree, of a hyper puritie and excellency, than was the lyfe of them, whiche looked no fether than to thynges pñsent, dñowned in all worldly & vaine affection, and folowed only the course of the lyfe politike, wherof I spake at large befoze: so is the power and authoritie, that he gaue vnto theym, whiche with sure saythe and truste in his worde, folowed hym and his doctrine, of an other sorte and greater excellency, than euer befoze Chyste was gyuen to man in this worlde, oꝛ stablyshed by any policie, there was neuer befoze him suche thynge gyuen to mortall man. Foꝛ to whom was hit euer sayde, what soo euer thou byndeste oꝛ loosest in erthe, the same in heuen shall lyke wyse be loosed and bounde? And yet to Peter this power was gyuen, and to all the apostelles with equalite. There was neuer befoze Chyste emperour in Rome, noꝛ seng Chyist pñnce out of chystendome, whether he were gret turke oꝛ sowdan

or amonge the mores any kinge most myghty of power, that euer had any suche dignitie, to none of them all was euer gyuen suche power. For their power and authoritie, resteth onely in the lordshyppe and dominion, gouernance and rule of those thynges worldly vnsustainable and transitorye, the which al as byle by nature and of small dignitie, Christis doctrine teacheth to treade vnder foote, and to a hyer degree he lyfted the hatres of his disciples, and soo gaue theym hygher authoritie, as to lose manne from all myserie of synne, though the synne were neuer so great, and to sette hym in sure state of felicitie: and who so euer he were and of what nation, condition, state, or degree, all indifferently to lose from synne, yf they wyll with perfyte faythe and sure truste in Christe professe his doctrine folowynge euer the perfection of the same. To this fayth and truste being in Peter and in the other apostels our master gaue this diuine power, and this is the very key of the gate of heuē, which as you se openeth to all men the gate indifferently, there is no man excluded from entrynge therein, but all, puttynge their holle affiance in Christe folowynge his doctrine, shall be admytted withoute difficultie. This is a meruaylous power to man gyuen, to plucke man so mysetable and wretched out of all myserie, and to putte him in the state of felicitie: And with this power our master Christ set forth his disciples, instructe with his spirite, to all the

Ioan. 10.  
Math. 18.

The author-  
rite of Peter

Galat. 3.



worlds, by the preaching of his doctrine to turne  
 them out of their wretched trade and misery, and  
 to wake them out of their dreames: for drowned  
 mankynde was with worldly affection, and fi-  
 nally to put them in remembrance of the bene-  
 fytes of god and of their dignitie, and that so by  
 his doctrine they at the last inspired and styred  
 vpp, myght attayne to their felicity. This was  
 the chief authorite & power, to thapostels by our  
 master gyuen, to the putting in vse wherof he in-  
 stitute certayn mystical sacramentes, whereby man  
 shuld be styred to receyue grace & fauour of al-  
 myghty god, and so com off to the memory of the  
 great benefytes of the goodnes of hym, which he  
 by his grace hadde aboue all other to vs of his  
 flocke specially opened and communed. To this  
 tende all the sacramentes of Chaste institute, to  
 bypunge vs I say to the remembrance of such be-  
 nefyte, as he to all thepy, whiche by fure saythe  
 hang vpon him, hath surely promysed, as I shal  
 more playnly hereafter declare. So that vnto fren-  
 des in fewe wordes to conclude, this high power  
 and greatest that euer to mankynde was gyuen  
 in erth, to the apostels of Christ gyuen was this.  
 I say, of al myserie of synne man to releafe, not  
 as of them selfe, but as of the ministers of god,  
 so to all other to be deuied, whoso euer in Christ  
 wold put sure confidence & trust, as in the foun-  
 tain of al saluation: and then so this doctrine to  
 preche to al mankynd indifferently, as to the cre-  
 atures

for. nro. l.  
 The sacra-  
 mentes.

Act. 3.

Marc. 16.

nature of god, only to his image formed & made:  
 by the heving wherof, they at the last considering  
 their owne dignite, myght be brought out of all  
 misery: and so thirdly by the comynge of the  
 mysticall sacramentes therof, myght therby inspi-  
 red with grace & the hevenly spirite, be styrted to  
 the memoire of his infinite benefyte and good-  
 nes, which to us not deseruyng he hath continu-  
 ned, by the reason wherof consequently, we de-  
 livered out of this misery & wretchidnes, might  
 attayne vndoubtedly to suche felycitie and qui-  
 etnes, as he of his mere goodnes hathe to vs by  
 his worde and promise appointed and determy-  
 ned. This is the authoritie & power in these fewe  
 wordes described, whiche Christe in his gospels  
 to his apostels hath communed, and so comuned  
 that indifferently to all without inequality, he  
 stablyshed it in them, ye and in all other whiche  
 with like faith and confidence in him beleue, and  
 succede in their place, leavyng al worldly vani-  
 ties aside, & tredyng them vnder fote, hang only  
 vpon him, as he that hath aboue al other y true  
 superiouritie, and is of all churches the very true  
 heed. And that this is a certayne and sure truth,  
 of the gospel in many places we haue most ma-  
 nyfest testimony, where as Christ instructing his  
 apostelles to the preachynge of his worde, sayth  
 vnto them all without exception of any, what so  
 euer ye loose in erthe, the same in heuen shall be  
 losed: and also what so euer you do there bynde,

Luc. 22.

.2. mto 5

.or. mto 8

Matt. 18

D. ii.

the



the same in heuen shall be bounden also, that is  
 to saye, who so euer he be, to whom you preache  
 my worde, of what countreys or nation, sect or  
 religion, if he by your preachynge tourne to the  
 confession of my name, trustynge therby fayth-  
 fully to haue saluation, to him you shal haue po-  
 wer to declare, that he is therby deliuered from  
 bondage of all synne, and loosed frome it by my  
 vertue and power, to him communed and decla-  
 red openly by you, whome I make the ambassa-  
 dours of my wyll: And lyke wise whom so euer  
 you see to denye me in erthe, despisyng my doc-  
 trine by you preached, and refuse the confession  
 of my name, all suche by this same power, you  
 shal vtterly condempne here in erthe, and to the  
 same my wyll in heuen shall be agreable, and the  
 same shall confyrme. After this maner our mas-  
 ter spake to his disciples, grynge them power  
 to the preching of his worde. To the which sen-  
 tence also in an other place his wordes do agree,  
 whiche he spake after his resurrection, whan he  
 sent forth his apostels, to preache to al the world,  
 inspirynge them with his holy spirite, after this  
 maner saying, Nowe at your going forth vpon  
 this heuenly embassage you shal receyue the he-  
 uenly spirite, by whose grace you shal haue with  
 al this power, that whose so euer synnes ye lose,  
 the same shall by and by be released to them, and  
 whose so euer you bynde and iudge not to be re-  
 leased, they shal with the bonde remayne, as moch  
 to

2. Corin. 5.

Ioan. 20.

to save, as what synne so euer it be, or what sorte  
 or condition be the synner of, so that he with so-  
 rowfull hart confesse the same, trustynge by the  
 goodnesse of me onely to be deliuered frome his  
 myserie of synne, if you by the spirite, whiche I  
 haue nowe gyuen vnto you, iudge hym to be re-  
 leased in erthe, your iugement shalbe confyrmed  
 in heuen, and if by the same spirit, which I haue  
 to you gyuen, you iuge him contrary to be wor-  
 thy of condempnation, to that my wyll in heuen  
 shall agree, and with this power nowe I sende  
 you forth. These wordes declare moste christen  
 people manifestly, that this hygh authoritie, by  
 Christe was vndoubtedly gyuen to his heuenlye  
 messengers & apostels, whan he sent them forth  
 to preache his heuenly doctrine, by the benefyte  
 wherof man shulde be quyte deliuered frome al  
 kynde of synne and myserie: but that this same  
 was to all them gyuen equally, this is not to all  
 men so manifest & playn, this many men denye,  
 affirmynge y<sup>e</sup> to Peter it was giuen with a preo-  
 gatiue of excellēcy, and so therby to the bishop of  
 Rome, in whose place he only dothe by their sen-  
 tence succede, they attribute a supertoritie. This  
 they say & only they say, but as for sure grounde  
 of scripture, their sentence to confirme, playnly  
 there is none. For as touchynge this, whiche is  
 of al other, most chief, that to Peter Christ spake  
 particularly, gyuyng to hym this power, that  
 was vndoubtedly, bicause he beinge of faith more  
 feruent

Math. 18.



fervent, and as it appereth of greater stomake,  
 ye and as it shulde seeme also by many signes, of  
 better utterance and eloquence. For the whiche  
 cause he of the olde interpreters of scripture is  
 ever called the mouth of the apostels: he I save  
 having these giftes, spake before the rest, and so  
 to him particularly Christe sayd, he wolde give  
 the keyes of the kyngedome of heven, but he  
 sayde not, that unto hym alone he wolde give  
 them. For after whan he gave them in dede, he  
 spake to all indifferently. And further yet this  
 same power whiche he said he wold give to Pe-  
 ter, was not of any other forte, then that, whiche  
 he gave to al other, as it appereth by the wordis,  
 but even all one, and runnyng to the same effect,  
 as to release and bynd sinne with like authorite,  
 and therby to make open the gates of heven. Ther-  
 fore to affirme suche prerogative, onely, bycause  
 he spake to Peter particularly, semeth a weake  
 and a slender grounde, seing that he dydde not  
 say that to him alone, he wolde give such autho-  
 ritie, and besyde that whan he gave it in dede, he  
 than gave it equally. And yet more over, he that  
 indifferently weyth the same place, with the cir-  
 cumstance therof, shal fynde playnly, that spea-  
 kyng to Peter he spake also to all, as he for all  
 answered. For even as the question was not as-  
 ked of Peter alone, but of al equally, so necessa-  
 rily the promysse of power to al was at the same  
 tyme indifferently opened, though Peter as  
 spoked

spokes man to the rest, onely made answer: but Peter alone had not that sayth, the whiche is the foundation and sure stone, wherbypon Christe buylded his church, to the which was made the promise of this power, but of that saythe they were all indifferently, though Peter with more fervent affect outwardly it declared, & the saythe it was that Christe founde in them, whiche moved hym to make the promise of that hygh power, the whiche he after gave indifferently to all other, whiche with lyke sayth are sent forth and appoynted by his church and saythefulle congregation, to preache the fruite of his heavenly doctrine abrode to the people, to their comfort & saluation. Of this place therfore to gether any prerogative of power to be given to Peter, is but a weake conjecture, & a feble ground, & like to y<sup>e</sup> same which is gathered of an other place, where Christ sayd to Peter he had prayde for him, y<sup>e</sup> his saythe shuld not fail, & that after his conversion he shuld confirm his brethren, the which wordes he spake to the comfort of Peter, forseinge by his providence the weakenes of his saythe and imbecillitie, whiche he shewed aboue the rest of his apostels. wherfore beside the comon comfort, which he gave to them all y<sup>e</sup> they shulde syt with him in his majestie, at the extreme iugement of al, to take oute of Peters haste, the dyspayre therof, whome he knewe shulde after denye hym, and thysse denye hym, he promised his saythe shoulde not faile,

and

Luc. 22.  
15. 150.



and that by the occasion thereof he shuld confirm his bꝛethern, to put faith in him, whose goodnes was not soo offended with suche infidelitie, but that by sorrowfull harte and repentance he shortly recouered his fauour agayne. wherof al christen hartes may take a notable example and singular comforte, to the auoydꝑnge of al desperation: but as for any superiourite of power hereby to be gyuen to Peter, to all them whiche indifferently weye the circumstance of this place, it can not but appere a weyke grounde & feble cōiecture: and yet weyker is this, whiche of an other place of the gospel as most principall is taken, where as Chꝛiste demaunded of Peter, whether he loued him more than the other of his apostels, the whiche he affirmed, to whom Chꝛiste then sayde and commaunded, that he shulde than fede his flock, and that he reherſed thise to gyther, wherof is thought manifest al the hole matter. But in this leauynge other answeres of many wyle mē made, I wyl shewe you my sentence & iugement, that Chꝛiste there intended no suche thing at all, noꝛ to stablyshe in Peter any superiourite therby, was nothinge his purpose, as it semeth manifest for as moche as he sayd onely fede my flocke, not addyng oꝛ puttyng to any argument oꝛ token of any higher power and authoꝛite, but only thise reherſed that thinge, whiche is the common office of all his apostels, and of al other, which be appoynted to be preachers of his worde, the whiche

Ioan. 21.

the thing as it semed by inculcation he wold fa-  
sten in Peters harte, ye and soo consequently in  
the hartes of all them, whiche of his name wyl  
make profession. That thing I say he wold fa-  
sten in hart, which is of al his doctrine the chiefe  
ground and foundation, that is to say, that who  
so euer by mouthe and outwarde confession, pro-  
fesse to loue Christe, and to be a sheparde of his  
flocke: thenne must he in dede, and by outwarde  
demonstration openly declare, when occasion re-  
quyeth, the inwarde affect, to the entent that the  
woorde and dede may in effecte agree. For he that  
by mouthe sayth he loueth Christe, and by dedes  
dothe hym deny, he is no mete disciple of the do-  
ctrine of Christe, no: mete apostle, no: sheparde  
for his flocke, for his confession doth not profite  
no: edifie the inwarde affecte of all christen har-  
tes, may not onely in wordes, but in dede be de-  
clared: without the whiche thou shewest thy selfe  
to be an hypocrite, and a dissembling professour  
of Christis doctrine, the which hypocrisie aboue  
all thinge Christe doth abhorre, and hath as en-  
nemy. wherfore as I thinke, Christe asked Pe-  
ter thise of his inward affecte, and was not con-  
tent onely with the outwarde confession of loue  
by mouthe, whiche may by dissimulation be co-  
uered and cloked, but gaue him comādmēt to  
fede his flocke, with that faith & with his heuen-  
ly doctrine: and so in effecte to declare his loue,  
the whiche though Christ without dede outward  
who

Tit. i.

Math. 23.

Hypocrisie.



## **A N E X H O R T A T I O N .**

who lokith into mēs hartis, right wel doth know  
yet to the comfozte of other, and to their instruc-  
tion, we muste euer as occasion requireth: so de-  
clare our inwarde affecte, with loue and charitie  
by outward woꝝkes to the pꝛofyt of other. This  
doctrine maye well be taken of this inculcation  
and ofte rehersall of these woꝝdes to Peter, but  
as foꝝ any superiorytie of power, therby to attri-  
bute vnto hym, playnly to me semeth a dreame,  
where as of power is made no mention. Wher-  
foꝝe of the groundes of scripture, and of Chri-  
stis gospelle dere frendes no man can take sure  
argumēte of this pꝛerogatiue, as by these pla-  
ces ye maye see, whiche are amonge other of all  
moſte chiefe and pꝛincipall. Foꝝ of the rest be ta-  
ken yet moꝝe feble coniectures, the whiche haue  
many yeres troubled all the woꝝlde, and blynded  
these popes with arrogancy, and in all other sta-  
bled moche superstition, to the greatte ruyn of  
Christis pure doctrine and of all good religion.  
Wherfoꝝe frendes seinge that the manifeste doc-  
trine of our master, so playnly sheweth to equa-  
lytie of power, in all the apostelles indifferent-  
ly, and onely by lyghte coniectures menne maye  
be ladde to the contrarpe, I wotte not why we  
shulde so styffely defende this authoritie, so febly  
founded, and so weakely, as you partly haue hard  
by scripture grounded.

And moſte specially seinge that the pꝛactyse of  
the same authoritie in the tyme of the apostelles,  
which

whiche moueth me aboue all other argumentes,  
 out of the gospell drawen, and wordes of Christ  
 mytten, is vtterly contrarie, yea and many yeres  
 so continued in the begynnyng of Christis chur-  
 che, the whiche I shall nowe breuely to you also  
 declare, wherby you maye better be instructed,  
 thanne by argument oute of scripture drawen,  
 wherin lyeth moche controuersie. For this is to  
 be thoughte as a certayne truthe and sure, that  
 the apostelles so inspired with the spirite of god  
 wolde neuer put in practise thynge contrarie to  
 the doctrine of their maister Christe, which they  
 had so newly receyued, and so stablyshed in their  
 hartes. wherfore though Peter lyke as he euer  
 dydde in the presence of his mayster, shewe hym  
 selfe moost prompte and redy with faithfull hart  
 and loue to serue hym in all thynge, so after his  
 Ascension vppe to his father, shewed hym selfe  
 mooste studious in the preachynge, and in the  
 fyrste stablyng of his newe and godly doctrine,  
 euer redye to preache and common the same, to  
 the foundynge of his churche and faythfull con-  
 gregation. Yet this ye shall fynde in obseruyng  
 his actes and practyse of his lyfe, and of all o-  
 ther Christis apostelles, that he nother of hym  
 selfe preched this doctryn, any prerogatyue of po-  
 wer, aboue other vsynge therin, nor yet they any  
 suche thinge gaue vnto hym, in settynge forthe  
 the same. As of the fyrste acte, whiche the Apo-  
 stelles dydde, hit is verye euidente and playne,

D.ii.

whan



Act. i.

when they shoulde supply the roune of Judas, Peter onely dyd purpose the thing, whiche after they perfourmed, by election and comon authoritie, gpyng to hym no prerogative at al of any hygher power, savinge only that he as most eloquent & bolde propoled the matter, whyche they synysled by their common assent. And after the same maner in the creation of Diacons, this order was obserued, whan certayne were appointed to minister in lower office to the hole congregation, while the apostels occupied them selfe in

Act. 6.

prechyng of Chyristis doctrine: this thyng was not done by the authoritie of Peter alone, but by the common agreement of all the rest, whiche at the begynnynge of the churche, were in that lytell congregation. And at such tyme as the gentyles beganne to receyue the doctrine of Chyriste Peter dydde not by his authoritie commande or

Act. 8.

appoynt, whiche of the apostelles shulde goe to preache vnto theym, to the increase of Chyristis churche, but he hym selfe with John were sente forth of the other this office to do: whiche argueth, that aboue the reste he had no authoritie, for than he myght of hym selfe haue done that thing whiche he dyd not, but with the authoritie of the hole congregation was sent forth with John, & with equall authoritie together they preached, to the comon edification of Chyristis churche, in no poynt shewyng any prerogative therin. But this thyng is yet moche more euident, by the entrea-

tyng

tyng of a controuersie, which at the beginning  
 rose in that lytel church, the order wherof yf you  
 obserue with diligence, you shall most manifest-  
 ly see, that to Peter was gyuen no prerogatiue  
 of authoritie: The controuersie rose by the reason  
 of some whiche preached to the gentyles, that cir-  
 cuncision was necessary to their saluation: this  
 thinge beinge in great controuersie, was not de-  
 tynd by Peters authoritie, but referred to Jeru-  
 salem to the counsell of the apostles, wherein this  
 order was obserued. Peter by it declared his sen-  
 tence and mynd, how that this circuncision was  
 but a ceremony, and to the saluation of the gen-  
 tyles nothig necessary: after whom spake Poule  
 & Barnabas to the same sentence, but after them  
 all, James gaue iudgemente of the thyng, de-  
 claryng of them all the common sentence, and  
 sent it forth by writinge, not as a thyng deter-  
 mined by any prerogatiue of Peters authoritie,  
 but by the assent of all together, agreinge in v-  
 nitye. wherby ye may se berefydes, that Peter,  
 as it were giuing place to James at Jerusalem,  
 in that tyme shewed no argumente of any hyper  
 authoritie, but rather contrarie of that place he  
 shulde seme, that James shoulde be of greater  
 authoritie, for as moch as he pronounced the co-  
 mon sentence and iudgemente of all. But after  
 myn opinion, nother James was heerd, nor yet  
 Peter, but all with equall authoritie and one as-  
 sent, laboured mooste besyde, to common abode

Act. 15.



# AN EXHORTATION.

this heuently doctrine, to the saluation of man in euery countrey, this of their actes is most manifeste and cleere.

Gala.2.

But aboue all other yet to me of the dedes and doctrine of Paule this doth most manifestly appere: And by this that he in Arabia, Syria, and other places, as he hym selfe testifieth manifestly, this I say sheweth mooste surely, that Peter was then no suche heed of the churche, as many men dreame, that of hym as vicar of Christ, al power shulde be deriued to other. For then Poule without his institution, wold neuer haue attempted to preache, nor haupnge of hym his authoritie, the whiche is iudged to be of suche necessite, that the denieng of his superioritie, shuld bring in euerlastinge damnation. And besyde this loke what he dyd at Antioche, where as Peter vsing a lyttell mannes policy, gaue place to the weakness of the Jewes, withdrawynge hym self from the company of the gentyls & their faction of Iste, was boldly of Paule reprovued, as one that shuld with suche ceremony and dissimulation, offende the libertie of Christis gospelle, whiche indifferently to the maners of all nations shulde be accommodated and applyed, without respecte of ceremony: this he dyd manifestly, which I thinke he wolde neuer haue doone, if he hadde iudged in Peter to be any suche hyghe authoritie, but rather he wolde haue confourmed hym selfe to the doctryne of his heed, haupnge suche superioritie

Gala.2.

for little, beinge the onely liefetenaunt and vicar  
 of his maister: but playnely he iudged no suche  
 thing, he neuer conceived no suche power aboue  
 other in Peter to rest. The which is also of an o-  
 ther of his dedes more yet manifest, he saith that  
 after he had longe tyme preached the gospelle of  
 Chryste amonge the gentyle nation: He ascended  
 to Jerusalem, there to conferre with Peter, and  
 other there beinge the pylers of the churche, not  
 bycause he doubted of his owne doctrine, wher-  
 of he was so sure, that if Peter had preached con-  
 trary, ye or any aungel of heuen, therof he wold  
 haue had lyttell regarde, he had his doctrine of  
 so sure a ground: but he ascended onely gyuing  
 place to the weakenes of them to whome he prea-  
 ched, whom he thought rather to wyne, hauing  
 his doctrine to Peters, and other there being of  
 great fame agreable, the whiche he dyd in dede.  
 For of them he saythe, though they were neuer  
 so greatte, by suche collation to hym self he had  
 no profytte, no thynge he there lerned, that by  
 the goodnesse of their common master Chryste  
 he hadde not lerned before. Wherfoze he saythe,  
 he departed frome Jerusalem, not as one that  
 toke Peter for any hedde or gouernoure of the  
 churche of Chryste, but as one of equall autho-  
 rytie, hauynge his doctryne and power of the  
 verye same ground, that Peter hadde made  
 with hym, there with James and Iohn, as it  
 were a leage, a confederasyon, and a socyetie,  
 ye and

Galat. 2.

Gala. 2.

Galat. 2.  
 Galat. 2.  
 Galat. 2.

Galat. 2.  
 Galat. 2.  
 Galat. 2.

Galat. 2.



pe and as a companion with hym nothyng inferiour in power, agreed together, that euen lyke as they chiefly shuld enterpryse their office, to exercise amonge the iewes, inducynge them to the truthe of the gospel, so wolde he and Barnabas his companion go to the gentyles, theyn by all menes to allure to this heuenly doctryne of their mayster, and so as it were the hole worlde deuydng amonge them with courage, pourposed it to subdue, and bringe mankynde from the study and cure of these vayne thinges frayle and transitorie, to the desyre of suche thynges, whiche by nature be euerlastynge stable and sure. This pe se dere frendes by Poules actes and dedes, how in Peter he neuer knewe no such superiortie nor prerogatiue of power, nor in no place nor tyme dydde submytte him selfe therto: the whiche also by his doctrine, he clerely dydde confyrme, as in few wordis I shal now to you declare. The some of Poules doctrine and the chiefe poynt therof, whiche he receyued of his mayster, stondeth in this, to perswade vs despisynge al thinges worldly and transitorie, vsynge them as we had them not at al, euer to loke vp to them whiche be eternall, and in them to haue our eies surely fpyed, and distrustinge oure owne power, workes, and dedes, as thinges by the whiche we can not euer lastynge lyfe deserue, put our hole truste and affyrance in Christe, by whose onely goodnesse we may attayne our saluation, hangynge vpon him

fayth=

The summe  
of Poules  
doctryne.

1. Corin. 7.

2. Corin. 4.

Galat. 2.

Tit. 3.

Ephe. 4.

faithfully, as vpon the onely heed and fountayne  
 of all good, of hym onely lokynge to take lyght  
 and grace, wherby we may in this lyfe walkynge  
 as in a pylgrymage, knytte to gyther all by cha-  
 rite, as by a common bande, and lyke membes  
 of one body coupled in spirituall vnitie, by the  
 mere benefyte of our heed, and his infinite good-  
 nes, at the laste attayne to our perfyte ende and  
 felicitie, there inioyninge such celestiaall comfort &  
 heuently pleasure, as nother tongue can expresse,  
 nor harte of man thinke. This is in fewe wordis  
 as hit were the somme of the doctrine of Paule,  
 wherin ye see the chiefe grounde to be, the faith  
 and sure truste, that we muste conceyue of this  
 heed our mayster Chyste, by whose mercifulle  
 goodnes we shall be saued, and not by our owne  
 woikes, nother by circuncision, sabbotte day, nor  
 ceremonie, but onely by the faithfull loue, that  
 we muste beare to that heed, euer obedyente to  
 walke in outwarde woikes, accordynge to his  
 commaundement, whiche with loue we must do,  
 one euer therby helpynge an other, to the intente  
 that we all togyther maye so at the laste be cou-  
 pled in dede to this heed, of whome nowe here  
 we hange, whiche is oure onely comforte. Of  
 this heed I say Doule makethe ofte and moche  
 mention, as of the thynge whiche is mooste ne-  
 cessarye to our saluation, but of any other heed  
 here to be chiefe in his churche, as his bycar in  
 erthe, to whose iudgement as to his owne al the  
 worlde

2. Corin. 5.

Roman. 12.

1. Corin. 2.

Ephc. 4.

Ephc. 2.  
Galaras. 5.  
Coloss. 2.Ephc. 1.  
Coloss. 1.



# A N E X H O R T A T I O N

woulde shulde be obediēte and conformable of  
 hygh necessitie, he neuer speaketh worde, he ne-  
 uer gguetbe to vs any sygnification: whiche I  
 thinke he wolde haue done, if it had ben so neces-  
 sary to our saluation, and to the vnitie of Chri-  
 stis church so strōge confirmation. And though  
 to somme peraduenture this arguement appere  
 weyke, bycause it semeth not wel to folow, Paule  
 maketh no mention therof, therfore it is not so:  
 Yet to me consyderinge the thinge as it is, with  
 the circumstaunce therof, it appereth almoste a  
 sure demonstration, seinge that Paule makynge  
 soo moche mention of the heed of the churche of  
 Chyiste, inculkyng it so ofte as a thinge mooste  
 necessary, if he had thought, that Peter had bene  
 an vnder heed of Chyiste hym selfe, as some saie  
 nowe in his thurche stablyd, as necessarye to the  
 conseruation of the vnitie therof, I thinke I say  
 in some place he wold haue made mention ther-  
 of, or elles plainly his doctrine had ben insuffici-  
 ente, lackynge the declaration of that thyng,  
 whiche to the stablyng of Chyistis doctrine, is  
 of soo hygh necessitie. But this Paule neuer  
 dydde, but the contrarye playne. For he neuer  
 toke Peter for hedde of his Churche: whiche  
 thing also I am sure Peter, if it hadde ben putte  
 to hym, wolde haue vtterly and cleane forsaken  
 it, specially after that sorte to be of suche necessi-  
 tie. Paule toke him as his compaignion equall  
 with hym in power and dignitie spirituall, both

two despisers of dignitie temporall. I am sure,  
 if Peter were alive, that he wold thinke nothing  
 more contrary to the doctrine of his master, than  
 to asseyne of suche power anye superiortie, as  
 nowe is to him against his wyll ascribed to be of  
 suche necessitie, that withoute it the doctrine of  
 Christe shoulde runne to ruyne and decaye. And  
 that man without the confession of suche power,  
 shuld fall to sure perdition. This I am sure Pe-  
 ter wolde abhorre and haile also, This they  
 wolde thinke to be plaine contrary to the simpli-  
 citie of Christis doctrine and unitie. Wherefore  
 frendes seing that nother the places of scripture  
 indifferently weped, nor the practyse of the same  
 in the tyme of the apostels to the world declared,  
 serue to the ascribinge of any prerogative of po-  
 wer to Peter, or aboue the reste any superiortie,  
 and seyng also that bothe the dedes and doctrine  
 of the mooste diuine Interpretour of Christis  
 gospelle haile, sound to the contrary, as I haue  
 manifestly shewed, I see no cause why we shuld  
 of suche necessitie, attribute to the byshoppe of  
 Rome suche superiortie, that the defecton from  
 the same, shuld blotte any nation, with the crime  
 of heresie or of scisme, and so consequently induce  
 any scrupulous suspicio of euerlastyng damna-  
 tion. But playnly to say, the assertion of such su-  
 piorite, after this sort appereth a great madnes,  
 extreme folly, & playn supstition: the whiche thing  
 thoughe of scripture it selfe as I haue touchyd,

Ephc. 4.

D. II.

be



be manifest and playne, yet the same I wylle in  
as fewe wordes as I can, fearynge lest I shall  
be tediousse therin, bothe by storpe and proba-  
ble Argumente declare vnto you, and so it shall  
be manifeste, that this thyng is not of suche  
greate necessitie, to the conseruation of the vni-  
on of Christis church, as many menne blindly  
do iudge.

¶ And fynde herein to me it apperethe a thyng  
moche metuaylous, by what meane this thyng  
to be of so great necessitie, shulde enter in to mens  
fantasies and myndes, specially of lernyng and  
iudgement, consideringe that frome the tyme of  
Peter vntyll the tyme of Syluester byshoppe of  
Rome, in the reigne of Constantyne, aboute the  
space of. liii. hundrethe yeres, of this heed with  
such superiortie was no mention at all. For this  
by certayne storpe is knowen, that all that tyme  
the byshoppes in euerye place chiefe and prynci-  
palle, as Jerusalem, Antioche, and Alexandria,  
were bothe chosen and institute of the hole con-  
gregation, or els by the priestes, to whome was  
gyuen of the multitude suche authoritie, and no  
mention is had all that space, that they came to  
the byshoppe of Rome, as they? common heed  
and superiour, whiche at the same tyme was ra-  
ther, as by probable coniecture we maye gather,  
longe and many a daye, inferiour vnto the church  
of Jerusalem, & Alexandria, I meane not in  
power & authorite, for therin was sure equalitie,  
but

but in vertue and knowledge of Christis doctrine, whiche in Alexandria and in Antioche, as nere to Jerusalem, toke fyrst greater ground, than it dyd in the cite of Rome, whose pryde & worldely polycye many a daye, moche resysted to the truthe of the gospel, and that heuenly humilitie therin to vs taught, the which nothing was agreable to the imperial pryde, in the emperours then reygnyng. wherfore christen men there secretly in corners made their assembly, and priuy profession of Christes name, auoydng the persecution of the wycked emperours, whose arrogancy was clene contrary to Christis simplicitie. And thus at Rome it cōtinued without great encrease of Christis doctrine longe & many yeres, where as at Alexandria and Antioche was at the begynnynge moche more open profession of Christis name and doctryne, the whiche may well be gathered of the multitude of lerned men and religious, wherof at the begynnynge of Christis church was in Alexandria and Egypte, in Antioche, and in the parties of Grece, as story maketh mention, far greater nombze, than there was at Rome, or here in the weste parties of the worlde, where as Christis relygion toke more slowe encrease, than it dyd in the east, where it beganne. For at Rome vntyll the tyme of Constantine it neuer toke so notable encrease, his vertue goodnes and authoritie, moche altered the polity of Rome: for his fame and example greattely



## AN EXHORTATION.

Inspired & hartis of the cōmon peple, whose iuge-  
 mentes euer moche folowe theys, whiche be in  
 authoritie, by theys example moche they fourme  
 their myndes, theys trade of lyfe they studie to  
 expresse: so that vntil this good emperours time,  
 though befoze at Rome it had a good grounde,  
 yet it was not so stablished by authorite of p̄ince  
 it did not so florish in the face of the worlde, but  
 chriſten men liued there in moche subiectiō, and  
 specially at the begynnyng, when for their rely-  
 gion, they suffred moche miserie, & persecution.  
 But now to the purpose, al this space of thre or  
 foure hūdreth yeres, nother the byshop of Jeru-  
 salē, noz of Antioche, no noz pet Alexādia, neuer  
 shewed argument of any superioritie of power  
 dewe to the byshoppe of Rome by the doctrine of  
 Chriſte, they neuer gaue to hym of necessitie, and  
 of the gospel dewe any poynt of obedyēce, they  
 were not institute, noz made by his authoritie,  
 they neuer cam to his iugemēt for sentence, as to  
 the vicar of Chriſt: but often tymes by collation,  
 they toke one of another the trewth of scripture,  
 and therof the trewe interpretation therby they  
 founde oute, to that euer guyng dewe obedi-  
 ence, but of that hyghe superiorite, all that tyme  
 was no mention, no worde, noz by story any lytel  
 ſpynification: whiche is also mooste manifeste  
 by the celebziatiō of the fyrste counſelles gene-  
 ralle, whiche were congregate by the p̄ncelye  
 author-

authoritie, without mention of any suche superiorytie, giuen to the byshoppe of Rome, the whiche thyng to proue is more open thanne now we nedeth any declaracion. Wherfore hit can not be thoughte, to be of suthenecessitie, specially seynge all that tyme at the begynnynge of Christis church, whenne the doctryne of oure mayster was mooste pure, and not corrupte by mannes inuentyon, but as hit came from the fountayne, sincere and clere, was entred and stabled in the hartes of them, which therof made professyon, there is noo storye made oone tyle of mention, of anye suche superiorytie to the byshoppe of Rome to be giuen, no noz yet to none other, speciallye that it shoulde be of suche hygh necessitie, that without it Christis doctrine coulde not stande, the whiche to all menne that haue eyes, and consider the storye of the begynnynge of the church, stode than in greater puritie, than euer hit dydde, sens the tyme that we haue had this one hed, stablisched with suche authoritie and power, the whiche thyng is so mannyfeste and playne, that no manne consyderynge the antiquitie, and comparynge it with the posteritie, maye denye this. For this to the worlde is open, in so moche that this thyng to be of necessyte to the saluation of man, as many men dreame, now also to confyrme with moch argument and reson, appereth vtterly superfluous.

Howe



## AN EXHORTATION.

Howe be it this I wpll saye, a great lykelyhode  
 that this shoulde not be necessary is this. I praye,  
 that all the aunciente and good Interpretours  
 of Chyristis Gospell amonge the grekes, whome  
 I iudge to haue moze lyghte in the holpe scrip-  
 ture, as they had in al other letters and lerning,  
 than any other nation, that euer yet receyued the  
 trewthe of Chyristis religion, the whiche without  
 profe here of me, is open by theyr workes to all  
 men, that with diligence them wyl rede. Al these  
 I say with one consente, kepe sylvence of this au-  
 thoritie to be gyuen to the byshoppe of Rome of  
 suche necessitie, in theyr workes therof ye shall  
 neuer fynde mention, the whiche is not like, they  
 wolde haue done, if they had iudged it to be soo  
 necessary a thyng, and a gospell truth of Chyrist  
 institute, and stabled: besyde this if this ground  
 were trewe, then shulde al the Indians all these  
 thousand yeres haue runne heedlyng to damna-  
 tion, which neuer toke the byshop of Rome heed  
 of Chyristis churche and his vicar in erthe, nor of  
 hym neuer toke tradition, and yet they haue ben,  
 ye and yet be now in our dayes, vnder Greter  
 Iohn, their kynge and heed, of Chyristis doctrine  
 deuout & true professours, and with vs in al the  
 groudes of scripture vtterly agre, in ceremonies  
 and rytes ecclesiasticke, there is moche diuersi-  
 tie, as it is necessary, accordyng to the nature of  
 the contrey and people. The same thyng myght  
 be sayde of them in Armeny, whiche neuer wold  
 be

be obedient to the byshoppe of Rome, but hadde  
 amonge them their heed, whom they called their  
 catholyke, as he that was a trewe professour and  
 maynteyner of the catholyke faythe. The same  
 also myght be sayd of the Greke nation, whiche  
 neuer wolde confesse the obedience to the church  
 of Rome, to be necessary to the saluation of mā.  
 wherfoze chiefly by the byshops of Rome, they  
 were most vniustly noted, not to be as membes  
 of Chyistes vniuersall and catholyke body. But  
 now al these nations, Indians, Armenians, and  
 Grekes vtterly to condemne, and seperate them  
 from the benefit of Chyistis passion, wherin they  
 haue had euer their chiefe comforte and trust, on-  
 ly for bycause they wold not, nor were not to this  
 heed, as to the bycat of Chyiste obediente: All  
 these I say to condemne and caste theym into the  
 depe pytte of hell, semeth playne madnesse, and  
 moste blynde arrogancye: and I pray god, that  
 they whiche so blyndly do iudge, be not for their  
 owne iudgement rather to be condempned. For  
 this iugement hath no grounde neyther of scrip-  
 ture, nor yet of reasone, but is a playne blynde  
 superstition. For as I haue shewed you befoze,  
 that thynge to attribute to god of necessitie, vn-  
 der pzetense of religion, whiche in dede is not so,  
 but hangeth only vpon mā's cōstitution, is moste  
 playn and manifest superstition. Wherfoze dere  
 frendes, seinge that neyther scripture, storye, nor  
 good reason dyueth vs to confesse this superio-



ritie, to be necessarie to our saluacion, and to be of Christe institute, lette vs not blynded with folyshe superstition, by processe of tyme copen into our hartes, bynde our owne conscience, with scrupulous necessitie of suche a thyng, whych vndoubtedly grewe in amonge vs, onely as a thyng of conueniency, and as a thing of a great helpe and succour to the mayntenāce of a certain vnitie in Christis churche, & not as a thing of necessitie, the whitch thyng to be trewe, nowe brefely I wyl also touche. For though this superiortie be nothyng of suche necessite as many men affirme, as to all the worlde that wyl indifferently weye the thyng, it is open: yet at the fyrste he hadde his grounde and p̄terte of a conueniencye, to the conseruation of a certayne vnitie, in the church and mystical body of Christe, as shortly you nowe shall here.

After the tyme that Christis religion was stablyd in many and dyuers nations, as well in the orient about Ierusalem, as in Rome, and in these west partes of the worlde, accor̄dyng to the nature of mannes wytte, beinge euer ful of subtyll inuention and variable, rose vppon Scripture, the ground of this our religion, dyuerse sentēce by dyuers interpretation, somme takynge it one way and som an other. For though the scripture of god be neuer so manifest & ful of pure simplicitie, yet whā it cam to subtyl wittes, more curious & more desirous of fame, thā studious of y<sup>e</sup> truth, and

and of Christis glory, there was in the sentence  
therof, some colour of contrariete, & moche appe-  
rynge obscuritie: by the reason wherof, came in  
heresies, and so consequently hole nations by di-  
uersitie of sectes, felle to schismes and diuision,  
as it dyd chance in the tyme of the great heretike  
Arrius, & many other, in so moche that the true  
religion of Christe, therby was greatly hyndred  
& hurt, which stondesth & hath his chief groude in  
vnite, wherby it is & euer hath ben chiefly cōser-  
ued. wherfore the good christen emperours stu-  
dious of the mainteyning of this vnite, & to take  
away this diuision, growen in the church by sub-  
tyl wittes by diuers interpretatiō, iuged it expe-  
dient to call to cōsel general, al the great lerned  
men of Christis religion, to redresse suche diuisiō  
by sectes brought in, & so to restore the old vnite:  
whiche whan they dyd, by and by to politike mē,  
whiche of worldly thinges had iugemēt, it appe-  
pered conuenient, to constitute one heed in suche  
counsaille generalle, to propose the mattiers be-  
ing in controuersie: & the sentence to gether and  
putte out after, with the hole authoritie, the whi-  
che thyng fyrste in the tyme of Constantyne  
was done, whenne was celebrate the firste coun-  
saile generall, by whose authorite the byshoppe  
of Rome was made at that tyme superioure to  
Constantynople, to Alexandria, and Jerusalem.  
The lawe yet remayneth in memoꝝ, which gy-  
ueth also a sure argumente, that it was not atte-

Isidorus

R. II.

that



that tyme taken as of Scripture necessarye, for  
 than his decree hadde bene ryghte foolyshe, by  
 lawe to stablyshe that, whiche of the gospelle do-  
 ctrine shuld be so necessarye. But to the purpose,  
 he thenne was made heed, but not by authoritie  
 of the generall counselle, but onely of the empe-  
 rour, who by his prudence and policie, thoughte  
 it expedient to stablyshe one heed, to order suche  
 thinges and putte in effecte at all tymes, whiche  
 were by generall counsell conceyued and decreed  
 concernynge the interpretation of scripture, the  
 controuersie wherof at the fyrst begynnynge was  
 onely there intreated, and no other thyng pe-  
 terynynge to polycye: Suche thynges were euer  
 leftre to the iudgement of Pryncis, and of euery  
 commynaltie: and there the dyuersitie of opiny-  
 ons in scripture were euer brought to a certayne  
 vnitie and con corde. This Authoritie only had  
 the bysshoppe of Roine at the fyrste begynnynge  
 of his superiorytie, as it apperethe by generall  
 counsaylles, and with this he contynued manye  
 yeres, neuer attentynge farther, vntyll at the  
 laste by longe warres and moche greatte vtu-  
 sion amonge princys, the Empyre of Rome fell  
 in moche ruyne and decaye, the whiche gaue the  
 fyrste occasyon to this greatte heddy power and  
 authoritie of Rome. For as the Emperour de-  
 cayed by proude dyspysion, so the pope increased  
 by symple superstition. For to that authoritie  
 whiche firste he had of Constantyne, his succes-  
 sours

four in the empire added moche more, grynge  
 theym priuledge and possession, with moche  
 worldely authoritie and iurisdiction, thynking  
 thereby moch to honour god, whose bicar in earth  
 he soone after beganne to call hym selfe, for as  
 soone as this authoritie, by emperours was sta-  
 blyshed, than he of hym selfe beganne to call ge-  
 nerall counsaile, and there many other thynges  
 to decree besyde scripture, whiche were iudged  
 partely to be good for the conseruation of Chri-  
 stis doctryne, as dyuers decrees, and ecclesiasti-  
 calle lawes, and partely for the maintenaunce of  
 this vnitie of heed, which then appered for the a-  
 uoyding of schisme and diuision, to the world al-  
 most necessary, and specially after that purgato-  
 rie after a newe facion was inuented, and surely  
 iudged to be: for thereby chieselye beganne his  
 reygne, thenne came in pardones and reserua-  
 tion to his owne see, than crope in the dismit-  
 on of thynges by his hye authoritie, than entred  
 excommunication and interdytes vpon all prin-  
 cis and chysten nations: for after that the empe-  
 rours by simple superstition came to that point,  
 that to the popes they iudged theym selves to be  
 subiectes, and not to be in full authoritie, tyl be-  
 fore his p[re]sente they were intronised and crow-  
 ned, what other prince coulde there be, whiche  
 shuld not iuge him selfe inferiour to the power of  
 him, which by him selfe was almost able to make  
 an emperour: So that breuely to say, & not ouer



The grow-  
ing in of the  
popes supe-  
rioritie.

longe in a thyng nowe many fest to al the world.  
This for a conclusion in this part is a sure and  
a manifest trewth, that this superiorite is part-  
ly growen by litle & litle in long processe of time,  
wherin groweth all abuse of mans lawe, & con-  
stitution, and partely ye and chrefely, by the sim-  
ple superstition of the emperours and princis,  
whiche by their symplycye have thoughte ther-  
by to stablyshe amonge christen men great uni-  
tie, and partely also by their owne arrogancye,  
whan by this temporall power, they have iuged  
folyshe to do Christs moche honour, who chief-  
ly came hyther this worldely honour to dyspyse.  
By these meanes I say, and toynded to the same of  
all christian nations, a very grosse symplycye,  
this power and superiorite, is growen to this  
intollerable and secretely cloked tyrannye: the  
whiche though at the fyrste began with a colour  
of conueniency, to the conseruation of the unite  
of Christs curche, as peradventure it had ben in  
dede if it myghte haue rested therein, as it began,  
yet now as it is increased and growen, vndouted-  
ly to the very vnitie of Christs religion, hit is  
neither necessarye nor yet conuenient, the whi-  
che remainethe nowe shorcelye to proue, whiche  
shall not be harde I thynke to doo. For who  
canne be soo madde to thynke anye tyrannye, to  
good polycye and bytye, to be necessarye or  
conueniente, and though this superiorytie  
be not playne and open tyrannye, yet some per-

adventure wyl save, it is soo moche more gre-  
 uouse to beare, bpcause that by pretext of religi-  
 on it is so couered and cloked. For if this be not  
 tyranny to indyte hole nations at pleasure, and  
 princis to plucke out of their power regal by ex-  
 communication, lawes bothe of god and manne  
 to breke at libertie, ye and yet moch more to giue  
 to other to do the same full authoritie, if this I  
 say be not tyranny, though it be cloked: I can  
 not tel what may be said. For as for this that out  
 of purgatorie he can relese soules out of paynes  
 for certayne yerres and dayes, wherof he maketh  
 craftie diuision, this is aboue all tiranny: For if  
 it be in his power to dispence and employe the  
 merytes of Christis passion, as he boasteth to do,  
 seynge that the benefyte therof is sufficient to al  
 paynes of them whiche in purgatorie be cruciate  
 with tourmentes, if he haue power therof,  
 do not applie the same to the comforte of thepm,  
 whiche so moche nede it and desyre the same, he  
 is pleyne more then a tiranne: but be this tyranny  
 or no, I wyl not nowe reste vpon that, but this  
 shortly I shall declare, this power and superi-  
 oritie, as we attribute it to the bishop of Rome,  
 nother to be necessarie to the very spiritual vni-  
 te, nor yet conuenient. For the concerning wherof  
 we frendis this you shal vnderstand, & according  
 to the.ii. diuers maners and facions of mans life  
 befoze declared, of the which one I called spiritu-  
 al, & other politike, so there be.ii. diuers vniuersities.  
 For

For



## AN EXHORTATION.

The nature  
of Vnitie.

For there is one vnite spiritual and another po-  
liticall, vppon the whiche as vppon the chiefe  
groundes, is stablyshed al polycy, bothe spiritu-  
ally and worldly, wherof you shulde nothyng  
meruayle at all, if ye coulde conceiue the woder-  
full nature of this vnitie, wher vppon is founde  
the hole ingyn of this sensible worlde, as in the  
whiche all the partes therof both in the heuenlye  
bodies and in the erthely creatures, are as in a  
chayne coupled and knytte: and yet ferther the  
very nature of goddes diuinite, as ferre as man  
may therof any thyng affirme, is grounde in  
the same. For god is no thyng but vnitie, & vnite  
is god, ye and this incomprehensible nature of the  
mooste meruailous trinitie, in vnite is founded.  
but this as a thyng passyng our capacite, we  
wyl sette a syde, and meruayll no thyng at all,  
that in this vnitie, wherof not without cause so  
moche mention we make, resteth as in the ground  
al good & vertuose policy, & is thend to y<sup>e</sup> which  
al good lawes and ordynances euer must loke:  
And as in the spiritual lyfe, we must euer mooste  
regarde this vnitie spirituall, so in the worldlye  
muste be had respecte of the politicall, the which  
brefely to describe is nothing els but a concord,  
agreement and a consent of all them whiche be in  
one polycy, to the receyvinge and puttyng in  
use suche lawes, constitutions, and ordynances,  
as by polityke wyttes are deuyfed to the conser-  
uation of the worldly quietnes and tranquillite  
to

plato de  
rep. 2.

Polyficasse  
anytie.

to the whiche as to the chiefe ende, onely ever lo-  
ked they, whiche without the lyghte of Chyſte,  
haue in any cōtreys ſtablyſhed any polycie. For  
to this ende looked Plato, where as in his deu-  
ſed common weale, with the communite of thin-  
ges, he purpoſed aboue all thyng to grounde  
therin this vnitie. To this ende looked the aunci-  
ente Grekes, and the wyſe Romaynes, with all  
theyr ciuile conſtitutions, ſtablyſhyng good or-  
der in their cities and towneſ. The other vnitie  
ſpirituall is of an other ſorte, and byingeth man  
to an higher conſyderation, whiche is this, all o-  
bedience preſuppoſed and taken to all ciuile and  
polityke rule, a certayne conſente of ſpिरित and  
mynde, and as it were with one harte a heuenlye  
conſpiracye, to the attaynyng of heuenly thyng-  
ges, whiche by god are to manne, puttynge his  
onely truſte by fapth in him prompyed & appoy-  
ned, by the hope wherof he treadyng vnder ſote  
all worldly vanities, euer lyueth in deſpye of he-  
uenly thynges and celeftiall, the ſure truſt wher-  
of gyueth to mans harte inſteymable quietnes,  
and maketh him to be obedient to al worldly po-  
licy, and though he hit be not good, yet patiently  
it to beare, this hope and truſt giueth man ſuche  
courage, that all worldly thynges he eaſily hath  
in contēpte, vſinge them onely in this lyfe as in a  
pylgrymage, where as we haue as ſaynte Paule  
ſapth, no dwelling place. This ſpirituall vnitie  
was ſtablyd in his flocke by our maiſter Chyſte,

Spirituaſt  
vnytie.

Ephc. 4.

2. Corin. 4.

Hebre. 13.

2. Corin. 5.

S

by



# A N E X H O R T A T I O N :

by hym that is vnitie hit selfe: the conseruation  
 wherof resteth in suche groundes, as he by his  
 doctrine hath to vs prescribed, the which so long  
 as we kepe, and with the faythfull loue of hym,  
 as of our chiefe heed, be coupled together in cha-  
 ritie, as the very membes of his bodye: this v-  
 nitie is not broke, this vnitie remayneth, though  
 there be neuer so moche diuersitie of worldly po-  
 licie. This dere frendes if you well conceyue, that  
 shortly leade you to see, that this heed of Rome, &  
 superiortie, is nothinge of suche necessitie, that  
 without the obedience therto this spirituall vni-  
 tie, whiche nowe I haue declared, muste nedes  
 runne to ruyne and destruction. For fyrst this is  
 euident of that, whiche we haue before opened,  
 that longe and many a yere, this vnitie spiritual  
 was conserued in Chyristis church and body, be-  
 fore the constitution of this heed in Rome, who  
 by Constantyne there was fyrst by authorite sta-  
 blyd. wherfore to saye it is necessary, it is more  
 then folw. But let vs consider the thing with re-  
 son. This spirituall vnitie fyrst determyneth no  
 certayne kynde of policie, but as well may be in  
 the state of a pynce, & where there is one heed, as  
 where al thinges are gouerned by comon counsell,  
 other by many or fewe. For sens that of our mas-  
 ter Chyrist, we are comanded for the conseruation  
 of this vnitie, to al kynd of policie to be pliable &  
 obedient, as he was hym selfe, we vndoubtedly  
 may thinke, without scruple and feare, that in al

Ioan. 15.  
Ephc. 4.

Matth. 23.

it may rest & take sure ground. wherfore to affirm,  
 that it can not be contained but only by one heed  
 and one kynd of policie, semeth to Christe playne  
 contrary, & to his groundes nothing agreable. for  
 a meruaylous thinge it semeth to saye, that men  
 can not haue perfect feith in Christ, and amonge  
 them selfe perfite loue and charite, nor lyue to ge-  
 ther in this heuenly vnitie, except they admitted  
 this heed of necessitie, to pertayn to mans salua-  
 tion, wherof hath ben longe sene experience con-  
 trary. And besyde this what an arrogant blynd-  
 nes is this, to condemne all other nations of he-  
 resie, whiche neuer haue confessed this: it were  
 moze thā miserie and madnes, to bypnyng Christis  
 doctrine to suche straitnes and necessitie, whiche  
 stondesth onely in feyth and charite, & in the con-  
 seruation of suche thinges onely, as we haue of  
 Christis owne prescription, or of the hole cōgre-  
 gation inspired with his spirite, to the trewe in-  
 terpretation of suche thinge as concernethe the  
 groundes of Christis religion, of the whiche sorte  
 this vnitie of heed and superiortie of Rome, as  
 before is proued, is none at al, but grew in as I  
 haue shewed, as a thing onely conuenient to the  
 conseruation of this vnitie spiritual, and that by  
 the constitution of the same, shuld be stablyshed a  
 certayn vnitie politital, for the auoiding of al oc-  
 casion of schismes and diuision, which without þ  
 same heed might in this body succede and grow:  
 the whiche thyng as I sayd, hath some colour of  
 good

Coloss. 3.

S. ii.



# AN EXHORTATION.

good polycie. Howe be it this in fewe wordes I shall declare, that this heed with suche power as hath of many yeres ben therto attribute, is in no poynt conueniēt to the cōseruation of this vnite, but rather a great occasion of the breche of good christyan ciuylitie. This remayneth in the laste place now to be declared, wherein I shal not nede long to stond. For who so euer consydereth with hym selfe the vsurped authoritie, in dispensynge with the good and catholyke groundes and canonke, propounded by generall counselles, and the sellynge of the same, the interditynge of countreys and nations vpon worldly causes, with excommunications chiefly sente out for the same, vpon the good christen flocke, I thynke he shall fynd & shortly se, that this superiortie, as it hath ben vsed, is lyttell conueniēt to christen ciuilitie: specially if he ioyn to this the authorite by ydone abused, & plucking soules out of purgatory, with the reseruyng of causes to his own power, & definitiō of causes by apellatiō referriō to his popely authorite. These thiges who so cōsiderith, he shal shortly perceiue, what incōueniēces among al christen nations doth rise of this heedie authorite, and what blynd superstition is therby groundēd in all Christis religion: For though in euery pticular church & prouice it be conueniēt to haue one heed to gouerne, for the auoyding of confusion, wherefore byshops were institute aboue all prestes in euery church cathedral, as testifieth al antiquite,

yet

yet by lyke example therof to induce, the same to  
 be so conuenient in the hole body, as it is in euery  
 parte, is playne folp, and not without manifeste  
 lacke of iudgemēt. For where as in the hole body  
 of Chyristis church be so many sondry nations,  
 and therin besyde the diuersities of tongues and  
 maners, so diuers polities and ordynaunces of  
 lawes, that one mā therof to haue knowlege and  
 experience, which is required to the ryght iudge-  
 ment of causes, it semeth impossible. How shuld  
 it be thought conuenient in suche a body to con-  
 stitute one heed with suche authoritie, to whose  
 iudgement in all causes to hym deuolued and  
 brought, all the reste of chyristian nations shulde  
 stonde and be obedient? For though he were a  
 man of mooste hye perfection, and of wysedome  
 mooste polytyke, seyng that the administration  
 of Justice and equitie standeth a greate parte in  
 the knowledge of the particular circumstaunces  
 of causes, howe shuld he to so many nations, of  
 whom he hath no knowlege nor experience, giue  
 iustice with truth & equitie? For it can none other  
 wyse be, but that one man and one hede, so igno-  
 raunt of thynges, not haupng particuler instru-  
 ction therof, shal be impotent and lacke pōwer,  
 he he neuer so good, to satisfie all suche persons  
 and causes, whiche by appellation out of diuers  
 countreis and nations, shuld thither be referred:  
 by the reason wherof shuld succede many iniust  
 & wronge iudgements, as we both by olde story,



## AN EXHORTATION.

and also by experience may see, and lately haue  
 seene here in our countrey, nowe in our dayes,  
 to y<sup>e</sup> great vnquietnes of our most noble prince, &  
 trouble of al our hole natiō. Therfore dere frendes  
 brefely to conclude, as it is in the polypke lyfe &  
 ciuyle, nothing cōuenient to haue one emperour,  
 by whose iudgement all other causes worldye  
 and polypke, in all nations shuld be defined, for  
 as moch as therby al princely authorite shuld be  
 derogate & be in subection: so it is in the spiritual  
 policy of Chyistes church, one heed to be with su-  
 che authoritie, as of many peres he hath vbled, a  
 thyng mooste inconuenient, & to al chyisten na-  
 tions playne iniurye, y<sup>e</sup> and playnely to say, to  
 the doctrine of Chryste nothyng agreeable. For  
 as moche as all accusation one of an other, he  
 taught vs at the laste to referte, not to one heed,  
 but to the iudgemente of his church, wherein he  
 left his holy spirite as his bicar in erthe, ryght-  
 fuously to iudge all fautes, and to gyue therof  
 trewe sentence withoute mentyon of any one heed  
 therein, or other bicar besyde: vpon whose iudge-  
 ment all his vniuersall & catholyke church shuld  
 hang & depēd. Wherfore dere frendes seying that  
 this superiourite gyuen to the byshoppe of Rome,  
 is nother by goddes woꝛde in his scripture grou-  
 dyd, nor by y<sup>e</sup> practyse therof bi his apostles, inspi-  
 red with his spirite confyrmed & foundyd, as a  
 thinge to the saluation of man requisyte and ne-  
 cessary. And seing also that al thinges indifferēt  
 lye

Matt. 18.

The very  
 true bicar of  
 Chyiste

we with syncre iudgement weyde and considered, as it hath ben longe and many yeres vsed, it canne not in any poynte to christian polycye be thought couenient: I se no cause why we shuld so styffely to dethe meynteyne the same, & so stubbornely repugne to such good and common polycy, wherby is plucked awaye from our nation, suche a cloked tyranny, the whiche vnder pretext of relygion hath stabled amonge vs moche superstition, to the gret ruin and decaye of the syncre symple and pure doctrine of Christe, whose glorie by mans constitution, spryngynge out of this popyshe authoritie, hath greatly ben obscured. But as it hath dere frēdes be obscured long and many yeres, by the neglygent blyndenes of this hede, whiche euer hath looked to his own profytte and pompe, with lyttel regarde of true religion: so now in our dayes by the polytyke wylledome of our mooste noble prince vnder Christ our only heed, I truste we shall see the restitution of Christis glory, and heuenly doctryne, both to the comfort of this age, & of all our posteritie.

And fere not dere frēdis, y the vnitte of Christis church without this outward heed, ca not amōg vs remayn, the which vndoubtedly hath bene & is right wel conserued among many other christen natiōs, which neuer haue admitted any such hed with so great authorite, nor neuer cōfessed such a vicar of Christ to be of necessity: but gouernid by the true vicar of Christ, which is his holy spirite,

to



to whose gouernance he committed his church, as  
 to his very vicar in dede, euer faythefullye haue  
 trusted vpon him, with sure fayth and confidēce.  
 Wherfore frendes if we with louinge harte one  
 to an other, hange vppon hym as vppon the hed  
 and onely fountayne of all good, & passing this  
 lyfe in the vse of these thynges traunsitorye and  
 vayne, as in a pylgremage, euer desprynge to  
 come to our home, there to enioye thynges stable  
 and sure: Doubte ye not but we then gouerned by  
 his spirite, his onely vicar in erthe, though we  
 neuer knewe pope nor cardinall, shall kepe his  
 trewe vnitie, whiche is conserued, as by the chief  
 grounde, by faithful loue in hym and louing cha-  
 ritie one to an other, every one gladde to succour  
 other, every one gladde to instructe other as his  
 christian brother. This we maye doo withoute  
 mention of the byshoppe of Rome and know-  
 ledge of that heed, and so conseruynge the groun-  
 des of scripture and of the gospell of god, which  
 are but fewe in nombre, easie to be kepte in me-  
 moyr, wherby liuynge in christen ciuyltie with  
 obedience to our prince, and to all suche thynges  
 as be stablyshed by comon authoritie here in our  
 nation, we maye at the laste attayne to our felici-  
 tie, though we neuer here woꝛde of this superio-  
 rite, whiche is a thyng of nature indifferent, by  
 the reason wherof it taketh his power & strength,  
 of the common consente of man and agreement,  
 and so com christian nations may it receiue and  
 mayn-  
 01

maynteyne, and some hit reiecte without offence  
 of anye groundes of Scripture necessarie to  
 mannes saluation, and withoute anye breche  
 of the christian unitie, by schysme or heresie: to  
 the whiche shoulde insue everlastyng damp-  
 nation. For heresye and schysme are not iustly to  
 be ascribed to anye nation, excepte they slpye  
 from the manyeste groundes of scripture in the  
 gospel expressed, or in generall counsaile recei-  
 ued by interpretation, where as of the wordes of  
 scripture was gathered diuerse sentence and va-  
 riable, concernyng suche thinges as of necessite  
 pertyne to mans saluation, of the whiche sorte  
 this superioritie of the byshoppe of Rome, which  
 he hath by the pactice of christen prynces longe  
 abused, is none, as I thynke now is open clerely  
 to you all. Wherefore dere frendes I doute not  
 nowe at all, but that ye consyderynge the nature  
 of this thyng, as hit is in it selfe, whiche is not  
 of necessite to mans saluation, but a thyng in-  
 different, whiche may be receyued, and maye be  
 reiecte by common consent, I doute not I say,  
 but that ye wyll without scrupule of conscience,  
 of harte therto be obedient, ye & to al other thing,  
 which by common authorite here in our contrey  
 hereafter shalbe decreed, concernyng the refo-  
 matiō of al suche thingis as pertyne to religiō,  
 and to the purgynge of vayne supersticion: I dout  
 not but that the redresse of all ceremonies in the  
 church, customs & rites ecclesiastical ye wil glad-  
 ly

Schysme &  
heresye.

1. Corin. 1.

Obedience.



## AN EXHORTATION.

ly to see, consideringe right wel the great abuse  
 therof, by pcesse of time growe into the great ob-  
 scuring of the puritie of Chyristis Doctryne, & the  
 simplicitie therof, euer takyng this as a groude  
 sure and certayne, that all suche thynges as be  
 syde the groundes of p<sup>r</sup> Scripture, are eyther by  
 common counsaylle decreyd, concernynge thyn-  
 ges indifferente, ozels by longe custome recey-  
 uyd by common assent: ye and all suche thynges  
 as be of our fozfathers by tradition taken, al su-  
 che I say to be in the power of p<sup>r</sup>ncis, & of them  
 whiche in euery countrey oz nation, be in hie au-  
 tho<sup>r</sup>itie, to alter, refourme, and abrogate, when  
 time and place gyueth occasion, and the nature  
 of the thiges require the same. foz these ceremo-  
 nies, rytes, customes, & ecclesiasticall decrees,  
 be of this sozte, that though at the fyrste begin-  
 nyng, when they were fyrste constitute and re-  
 ceuyed, they were conueniente meanes to in-  
 duce mans mind to the obseruation of the groun-  
 des of scripture, & so longe continued: yet now in  
 p<sup>r</sup>ocesse of tyme they be growen to suche abuse &  
 manifest co<sup>r</sup>ruption, that foz the conseruation of  
 the same groundes, foz the whiche they were first  
 institute, they require nowe iuste refo<sup>r</sup>mation, so  
 that this is a man<sup>r</sup>ifeste superstition so to stonde  
 in the defence of these thynges, whiche by nature  
 be indifferent, as though they were articles of  
 the fayth: and suche thynges, to the b<sup>r</sup>ake wher-  
 of, of necessitie shoulde succede the rupne of all  
 ch<sup>r</sup>istian

christian pollicy. This is of all superstition the  
 chiefe grounde and foundatyon, the whyche  
 nowe frendes after you somewhat perceyue, I  
 truste ye wyl soe fourne your conscience, with  
 knowelege therof and discretion of thynges, the  
 whiche be of necessite, from them whiche stande  
 in polycy and suffre alteration, that to all suche  
 thynges as by common authoritie eyther are or  
 shall be receyued, ye wylle euer be obediente,  
 euer haupnge this in mynde, that to suche obe-  
 diēce by the lawe of god, ye are straptely bounde,  
 leaueinge the curious examynation of the  
 nature of the thynges, whiche be decreed, vnto  
 them which be in authoritie, to whose iugemen-  
 tes you muste yours euer subdue: ye and though  
 peraduenture the thynges to your iugemētes ap-  
 pere euill, and contrary to good polycie, yet by  
 patience and meke obedience, you shall tourne  
 the same thynges to your own good and inward  
 felicitye. ye and though the thynges yet further de-  
 termined by princely authoritie here in our own  
 cōgregation, be cōtrary to such thynges as hath  
 ben thought conueniēt in counsell general to the  
 conseruation of Christis doctrine: yet for as mo-  
 che as the decree of prince in thynges indifferēt,  
 byndeth vs vnder peine of damnation, as scrip-  
 ture dothe commande and testifie, the power in  
 counsell generall concernynge the same, byn-  
 deth vs onely by the waie of exhortation, for as  
 moche as therto is gyven none other authorite,

Roman. 13.

2. Corin. 4.

1. Pet. 2.

1. Corin. 7.

C. ii.

we



# AN EXHORTATION.

Authorite of  
general coun-  
saile.

we ought rather to gyue obedience in such thinges to princely authoritie here in our nation, than to suche thinges as be propounded by general assemble and congregation, where as is no power of commaundement in thinges indifferente, but only instructiō and brotherly exhortation, wherof Chyristis doctrine taketh all his grounde and foundation, without any ciuile punishment or compulsion. For Chyrist requireth the hart, to his worde frankely and frely gyuinge obedience, ye and the ende and perfection of his doctrine and commandment, is to induce man by loue to vertue, causynge alway his disciples, that thyng to do by loue onely moued, which other obserue for feare of punishment. For the which cause as I thynke, suche thinges as were propounded in the fyrste counsels longe & many a day, were not called lawes, byndynge mā with authorite, but only canons and cettayne rules, wherwith man frely customing him self, might be gentilly induced to folow the trade of vertue & honestie. And this to be true, Declareth a lawe made of the emperour Iustinian, wherby to suche rytes and customes ecclesiastical, as from the see of Rome and general assemble, were deriued to many other natiōs, he gyueth power and strength of lawes, setting them in ful authoritie, the whiche before bounde no man, but were receyued at libertie. Wherfore it appereth, that suche thinges, as by generalle counsell are propounded, and to chrysten polycpe thought

De eccle. tit.  
& pri.

thought conuenient, be of no strengthe, power,  
 no: lausfull authoritie and oblygatorie, vntyll  
 they be of euery nation receyued by cōmon assēt,  
 by the vertue wherof they may ageyn be dissol-  
 ued and betterly abrogate, as tyme and place pru-  
 dently considered, the same shall requyre. This  
 you muste thinke, and this you muste doo, with  
 mekenes and obedience, moſte chriſten people, if  
 you wyll be of the chriſtian flocke. And ſoo after  
 this maner frendes, formyng your iugementes,  
 and fleing from al ſuperſtition, you ſhall among  
 your ſelfe, moche ſette forwarde the truthe of the  
 goſpell and of all good religion, and ſoo conſe-  
 quently lpyng to gether in brotherly loue, euery  
 man in his offyce doinge his duetie, we ſhall at  
 laſte by con corde and vnitie attayne to our ende  
 and perſp̄te felicitye.

¶ And thus I truſte moſte chriſten people, that  
 you nowe after this conſideration had with your  
 ſelfes, as well of the ſpirituall lpye, with the po-  
 wer therein of Chriſte gyuen to all them, whiche  
 by perſp̄t faith truſt in hym only, as of the world-  
 ly and cyuile, with mans conſtitutions deuysed  
 by policie: and alſo that you nowe after ye haue  
 herde ſomewhat the difference betwixte thynges  
 of neceſſitie to be receyued for mannes ſaluacion,  
 and thynges, whiche be but onely of mē deuysed,  
 for the conſeruacion of the ſame, I truſte I ſaye,  
 nowe this conſideration hadde, that you ſe ſom-  
 what the meane, howe that ye ſhal inſtructe your



## AN EXHORTATION.

iugementes against superstition, wherby many pa-  
 uerite were induced by ouer moch & bapn fete, &  
 thing to attrilute to god & to his religiō, which  
 nothing pteyneth to his honoꝝ in dede, as this su-  
 ptoꝝite of the pope many thought to be of goddis  
 lawe, & of hys necessite, which i dede is not so, but  
 was brought in fyrst and stablyshed, as now you  
 haue herd vnder ptence of a coueniency, for & a-  
 uoydig of schisme & heresy: which authoꝝite now  
 in our daies, is growen to such intollerable tran-  
 ny, & the sturdy defence therof to be necessary to  
 Chyristis religiō, may seme most plain & manifest  
 superstition, yē & the chiefe foundatiō & ground of al  
 other: in so moch & to the ruine of this ground shal  
 succede by & by, of al other superstition the ful & vt-  
 ter extirpatiō. For I think no man to be so mad,  
 & cōtrary to & cōmon authoꝝite, he wyl other rite,  
 custom ecclesiastical, popes law oꝝ decre supersti-  
 tionously defend, iugyng them to be to māns saluati-  
 on of hys necessite, oꝝ of that soꝝt, which may not  
 without the ruine of Chyristis religiō, be altered,  
 chāged, & vtterly abrogate, if tyme place & other  
 occasion, by the iugement of good men & wyse, in  
 our cōtrey obseruid, shal require any such altera-  
 tiō. This I thynk you al now do se, which befoꝝe  
 were somewhat scrupulus of this popes authoꝝi-  
 te. ¶ But here is a thyng most chyristen people,  
 nowe moste diligently to be obserued, here you  
 muste take hede: for feare it is, yē of all chyristian  
 hattis moste highly to be feared, leaste the same  
 thing

thinge, whiche hath ben occasion of moche superstition, nowe may bringe in also the contempt of all true religion. For bothe the nature of thing is suche, and mans mynde of this sort, that commonly in fleinge from one euyl, he runneth into an other: in the auoydng from one vyce, except he be ware, he falleth to the contrary: as som we se, to auoyde the note of auarice, falle into prodigalitie: and som fleing the name of a base mynde and lowe courage, runne into playne pryde and arrogancy: some to auoyde negligence, falle into curiositie. And here in this our purpose, moche it is to be feared, lest many of vs now in auoyding superstition, shal manifestly runne to the contempt of religion, I mene not of monk nor friere, but of the very religion of Christ: for the same ground, I mene the popes authorite, as it hath ben the chief key of al superstition, so it shalbe to you, except you beware, the open gate to þe contempt of all true religion. For yf by the pluckynge downe of this authoritie & vtter contempt therof, you thynke, that you may by and by, without offence, of your owne heedes trede vnder foote, all rytes and customes of the churche, If you thinke you maye despyse all traditions of fathers, yf you thynke you maye sette nought by all popes lawes and decrees what so euer they be: then shall you falle sone into suche arrogancy, disobedience in hart, & contempt of al lawes both of god and mā, þe boldly I dare this affirm, that if it were not for feare of woꝛldly



## AN EXHORTATION.

worldely punishment, to none you wolde then be obedient, but all whiche is contrarpe to your appetites in your hartes you wolde despise, and soo the verpe lawes of Chyiste, ye and Chyiste him selfe, shourtely you wolde lyttell esteeme: for this contempt of all tradition, shal induce in many suche arrogancy, that all they shal iudge to stande in mans opinion, & so neyther Chyiste, nor his gospell they shal willpnygly defende, but rather flye frome the confession of his name, then therfore to suffre death and worldely shame. For suche is the nature and malpce of mans harte, that if you take ones frome hym religious obedience, and feare of religion conceiued by longe custome and p:ocesse of tyme, he shal by lyttell and lyttell, by arrogant opinion, fall in to the vtter contempte, and inwarde dyspyllenge, of all trewe religion, and so lyue without any inward feate in harte of god, or hereafter of any punishment: to the which what wyl folow, al the world dothe see, for then nedes must ensue the ruyne of all ciuile order, and of all good worldly polypce, wherof good and trewe religion is the mooste stable and sure foundation. Wherfore frendes for the instruction of your iudgementes in this behalfe also, and for the auoydynge of this euyl, whiche is yet worse than the other, for better it is to man, and moze agreable to lawes of god, and nature, to suffre vaine supersticion, than to bring in corrupte contempt of religion: somewhat I wil herein

herin no me to you say.

And firste this you shall vnderstande dere fren-  
des, as a cōmon groude, that al be it rytes, custo-  
mes of the churche, & traditions, ecclesiastical la-  
wes and decrees, & bryefly al thynges besyde the  
gospel and doctrine of god receiued among chri-  
sten nations, be of this sorte and nature, that  
they be not of necessite to be receyvd, and as the  
gospell necessary to our saluation, noz to them of  
necessitie we are euer bounden, vnder peyne of  
damnation, but as tyme and place requyreth by  
common authoꝛitie, in euery countrey and dy-  
uers polycie, they maye suffre abrogation, and  
maye be altered and moued by the pleasure and  
common consent of the holle, in euery churche &  
nation, where they be receyued: yet you may not  
with the contempt of this popes authoꝛitie, and  
vnder the pꝛetence of the same, all theyn by and  
by, of your owne hedes vtterly condēne, without  
exception, as thynges pꝛiuitious to Chꝛistis rely-  
gion, but tary ye must a whyle, temperyng your  
tonges, and be not to hasty of your iugementes,  
vntyll the tyme they be abrogate by common au-  
thoꝛitie, and other in their place substitute by cō-  
mon assent. Foꝛ this is a certayn and sure truth,  
that ceremonies we muste haue, rytes and custo-  
mes, all maye not be lefte, the whiche be so con-  
uenient menes to induce rude & simple myn-  
des, to memoꝛy, & to the conceyving of the myster-  
ies of oure relygion, that if they were vtterly lopped  
awaye,

Rytes & cu-  
stoms eccle-  
siastical.



# AN EXHORTATION.

away, vndoubtedly it shulde not be longe, befoze  
ye shulde se, of very religion the vtter ruin e and  
Decaye. For ceremonies be to the sacramentes of  
our faith as images be in churches to p memory  
of saynctes, whiche if they were plucked downe,  
shuld bring in of al their vertu short obliuio, with  
in a while of them no man vnlearned, shuld haue  
remembrance. wherfoze all ceremonyes, & al other  
thynges besyde that, whiche in the gospel is ex-  
pressed, vtterly to condene as pernicious to Chri-  
stis religion, is flatte folly, foly the arrogancy, & a  
plain pestilent opiniō. For though amonge these  
thinges, as their nature dothe require, in longe  
processe of tyme, is growen in, gret abuse & cor-  
ruptiō, by p reson wherof vndoubtedly they nede  
reformation, yet them all therfoze vtterly to con-  
dempne, & vtterly to cast away, declareth in such  
as so do, litel wit & lesse iudgement. For this can  
not be denied of any man p hath reson & any litel  
knowlege of Chriftis doctrine, p many ceremo-  
nies traditiōs rites & constitutions, from the an-  
tiquite to vs are descēded, & of holy faders of pfit  
vertu & lerning istitute, whiche be to Chriftis reli-  
gion gret ornamēt, setting it forth in p hartes of  
his flock, to his honour & glory. Let vs therfoze i  
the iugemēt of these thinges, vse some tēperāce, &  
such as by many yeres haue bē among vs cōmon-  
ly receiued, let vs not so lyghtly condene, vntyl p  
time they be reproued by common authoritie, I  
meane not the authozite of the general counsell,  
to the which I thinke only to pteyn the iugemēt  
of

The.2.

of scripture & controuersies therein, but the authoritie of prince & comon counsell of the realme, to whom the redresse of such thinges, ceremonies & say, rites & customs only of dutie pteyneth, as by exāple of themperours, who therof euer made lawes: & also by good reson, bycause in al such thinges respect must be had of the nature of the people & countrey in euery state & cominaltie, which in general counsell can not be so wel iugid with the perfit discretio of such thinges, as ppeyn to good ciuilitie. But nowe frendes ptticularly to touche som mene, how ye may tempze your iugemētis in such thinges without arrogācy, as now i our daies be in cōtrouersy, of this let vs begyn, & as brefly as we can make pprocess therin. Some of vs bycause the popes authorite is so drien out of our nation, & I trust he shal herafter with vs neuer haue to do by any iurisdiction, by & by iuge it expediet, to plucke down al abbays & monasteries, with all their monasticall religion, bicause they think, of the popes authorite it had chief fundatiō: & so suche pfeccion they say, is playn supstitious, and cōtrary to Christis gospel, yea to al good ciuilitie: wherby men ar bounden lyuynge in comon policie, one to helpe an other, & not to flee into solitary lyfe, auoydynge all company of man. This some of you say, to whom to make answer, I wyll not vse longe pprocess, nor in the reste also, wherof I shal speake, whiche I moste note to be in controuersie. And first to daunte monasteries and monasticall lyfe of them commonly, whiche



we call religyous, argueth and declareth manifestly other moche lacke of reason in them that so do, or lyttell regarde of Christis religyon, of the which who so euer with right iugement consider the begynnynge, shall playnely see, that Christis religio was moch lyke vnto this monastical profession, & vnder princis and rulers of the worlde toke the fyrst ground, and fyrste begynnynge, after the maner of this solytarye lyfe, wherin lyue these which be good religious men. For howe sayncte Ihon Baptyst, who was the fyrst preparer and messanger of this heuenly lyfe, lyued in wylbernes and solytarie, all the world knoweth: and howe our master Christe with his apostelles lyued moch after the same rate, and euer taught the same, I do not saye as our fatte monkes doo now, but as in a monastycal lyfe with the dispysynge of all worldly thynges and transitory, all they that rede the gospel lyke wyse do se: And of the actes of the apostles it is mooste manifeste, howe all that professed Christis name lyued, hauynge al thynges in common, as many do yet in these monasteryes, and long after in Egypt and in Arabye, in Syrye, and in Grece, al those which were most notable masters of Christis doctryn, & in life professed the same, liuid in wylbernes & solitary, dispysynge of the world, al vayne pleasures & transitorye, not only in wordis, but in lyfe & dedes, to þe whiche of suche thynges was euer most iustly gyuen moze credite: and afterwarde in Rome it grewe

Math. 3.

Math. 19.

Act. 4.

grewe in by suche a maner of secreete profession.  
 For longe it was vsed amonge them there, that  
 all suche as wolde folowe the doctrine of Chyste  
 lefte all worldly comforte, and fledde to this so-  
 litary lyfe, there lernynge in prayer and pouer-  
 tie this, as the chiefe ground of our religiō, with  
 the hope & cōfort spiritual receiued of our master  
 & his doctrine, to dispise this life & thynges trā-  
 sitory, euer lokynge to an other, & there to inioye  
 thynges stable & sure. And this by lytell & lytell  
 vnder greate princis and rulers of the world our  
 relygion so grewe in, by the prouidence of god,  
 vntyll at the last it was spred ouer all, and occu-  
 pyed a greate parte of the worlde, as to all men  
 it is open and playne. But yet this is also sure  
 and cecayne, that amonge all nations, after it  
 was stabled, some there were euer from the fyrst  
 begynnynge, whiche made profession of this so-  
 litary lyfe and monasticall relygion, some euer  
 iudged therby to drawe nere to the steppes of  
 their mayster, and somewhat nere to folowe the  
 fyrste institution, of the doctrine of Chyste, then  
 they doo, whiche lyue abroode amonge the plea-  
 saunt troubles and paynefulle pleasures, here in  
 the common life: of the whiche sentence & minde  
 haue ben alwayes many auncient wise and holy  
 menne, perfyte bothe in vertue and lernynge, as  
 Jerome, Austyne, Gregorpe, and Basylle, with  
 many other, whose names to reherse were super-  
 fluous. wherfore dere frendes this hole kind of  
 lyfe



## AN EXHORTATION.

lyfe of monastical religion, I wolde exhorte you  
 not so lyghtly to condemne, iudgyng it to be so  
 contrary to christian ciuillite, the which if it were  
 purged from certayne ceremonies, wherein some  
 ouer superstitiously put their affiaunce, shuld be  
 to Chyristis religion as it was in the begynnyng  
 a great light and oꝛnament. For though the a-  
 buses in that lyfe be greatte and intollerable, yet  
 the fyrste institution therof, withoute fayne was  
 ryght good and commendable. At the fyrste be-  
 gynnynge the noubꝛe was smalle, and yet of  
 them sprang to al the woꝛlde the lyght of our re-  
 ligion, all mooste al the interpreters of scripture,  
 both grekes and latyns, were of this monastical  
 lyfe. Howe be it now in our dayes the profes-  
 sours therof are growen to suche a nombꝛe, and  
 after suche a soꝛte lyue, that shortly yf therof be  
 not regarde, cyties wylbe voyde, and the ground  
 shall remayne vnlaboꝛyd and vntylled. But of  
 this frēdis as of their hole lyfe, wherein is no lesse  
 superstition then good & trewe relygion, I trust  
 in our dayes we shall se refoꝛmation, to the gloꝛy  
 of god, and settynge foꝛthe of Chyristis religion.  
 For better it were and moꝛe conueniente to the  
 doctrine of our maister, no monasteries to be at  
 all, noꝛ of this monasticalle lyfe any profession,  
 than thus in abuses to lyue, fedynge their belyes  
 by corruption of youth with vayne superstition:  
 but leauynge the abuses with the refoꝛmation, to  
 them whiche be in authozitie, to whose wysedom  
those

those thinges cannot be hyd, lette vs not lightly  
 cōdemne the hole kynd of þ religion. For vndou-  
 tedly this is a thing most cōueniēt, þ now the re-  
 lgiō of Christ somewhat being fallen fro the pure  
 simplicitie therof, being infect with worldly cor-  
 ruptiō, men shuld yet haue som monasteries & so-  
 litary places, wherin as it were in crikes of þ see,  
 they might quietly in their olde age, be receyued  
 fro the blastes & stormes of the worldly tēpestes,  
 wherin al their youth they had bē diuersly tossed  
 & tumbled: & so there to fynish their liues in pray-  
 er, study of holy scripture, & heuēly meditatio, by  
 whose example other abrode in the world might  
 be styzed also to cōsider the vanities of this lyfe, &  
 by their doctrine be istruct better in the same. To  
 this ende & purpose I wold thynke monasteries  
 might stond, & after they were reformed by good  
 mē wyle & politike, shuld greatly set forward the  
 trewth of Christis gospel, & to al good ciuilitie be  
 a great succour & ornamēt. And this yf you wold  
 cōsider dere frēdes with your selfs, I wold think  
 you shuld not so lightly cōdemne al monasticall  
 lyfe, by the plessours wherof þ doctrine of Christ  
 hath taken notable increase, & singuler perfecti-  
 on: But blynde affection hath corrupt your iuge-  
 mētis, as in this, so in many other thigis: for som  
 of you ferther yet more blindly procede, & think  
 you may, nowe þ popes authorite beig ouerthro-  
 wen, boldly deny this popyshe prisone withall,  
 wherin he hath lōg reigned, Purgatory I mene,  
 the



## AN EXHORTATION.

Purgatory.

the whiche bicause you can not fynd in scripture mentioned, you thynk of chryste myndes it shuld not be affirmed, and that it is but a poppysh inuention. wherin frendes vndoubtedly moche you erre, and ouer boldly iuge, for though the pope therin hathe his power mysbryd to the mayntenance of his owne glorie, as he hathe done in many other thynges beside, wherby he hath long illudyd simple myndes, yet the thyng in it selfe was of no pope inuentyd, whereof is mention with the famousse and notable doctours of oure religion, bothe latynes and grekes, befoze suche tyme as the pope had amonge al byshoppes any superioryte, and moche befoze it grewe to this intollerable tyrannye: these auncient maysters of Chrystis doctrine, as moche as they make of a tradition, say & affirme such a place to be, wherein mans soule shall be purged from alle spottes of worldly affection, prynced therein by the immoderate loue and pleasure had in worldly conuersation, befoze the tyme it may attayne the eternal fruition of euerlastyng thynges, and with angels to intyre the heuenly meditation. But of this sorte to be as in our dayes it is of many follyshly affirmed, amonge the olde authours there is no mention, none of them iudge it to be suche a place, out of the whiche any popes power may deliuer mans soule at his pleasure. This thyng semethe to be an inuention of man of late yeres, & of the olde fathers no tradition. wherfoze after  
that

that maner it to deny I thinke were none errour  
at all, but the thyng vtterly to take awaye, se-  
meth to come of moche arrogancy, and greatte  
lacke of iudgement and reasone: for that thyng  
to deny constantly, wherof there is noo certayne  
grounde no: sure, is playne folie and lacke of dis-  
cretion. For as to affirm purgatorie to be, there  
is no grounde of suretye, so it to denye hath mo-  
che lesse certaynte, for scripture giueth sure argu-  
ment to nother of them both. wherfore as to af-  
firme hit to be, as an artycle of the faythe, and  
to the saluation of man to be of necessite, I thinke  
it great folie: so to deny it to be a holsome tradi-  
tion to the conseruation of the christian lyfe mo-  
che conuenient, I iuge it to be playn arrogancy,  
specially considerynge that to the assercion ther-  
of we haue the consent of many auncient greatte  
lerned holy and vertuous men, whose example  
and iugement, I wold rather moue you to leane  
vnto mooste christian people, and to their sentence  
rather to be conformable, than to certayn lyght  
wyttes, nother fourmed with lernynge no: iuge-  
ment, and whiche is chiefe of all, boorde of ver-  
tue, to assente, and to them to be plyable, whose  
lyghtnes both in this and many other thynges  
hath benne a great occasion to the corruption of  
some of your iugementes, and hereafter excepte  
you be ware shall be moche more. For vnder the  
colour of bypnyng in lyberte from bondage of  
tradition they wolde induce you to admitte only  
suche



suche thynges whiche be of mere necessite, and in scripture expzessely declared.

Pilgrimage

And soo by this grounde moued, as they denye pourgatorie, soo lykewyse they doo denye pylgrimage and honourynge of saynctes, sayenge, therein to reste moche idolatrye. By the reason wherof somme of you dere frendes condempne all pylgrimage and prayinge to saynctes, wherein vndoubtedly moche abuse is open vnto the worlde, no man therein is so blynde, whiche that thinge dothe not see: howe be it shortly to say, so moche idolatrye to be in the thyng, as somme of you peradventure do iudge, I thynke nothyng to be truthe at all. For no manne (I suppose) ha-uyng any reason, is so rude and so stockyshe, as to the stockes and stones representyng the saynctes, to make their prayers, and them to seke and to haue in honoure, as somme saye they doo, but onely they take theym to be as sygnes and tokens to bryng theym in to the memozye and remembzaunce of the synguler and holpe vertues, whiche whanne that they lyued, those holy saynctes dydde shewe, to the honoure of theyr mayster Christe, for whose cause theyr pyages and relyques of all good christian hartes be had in reuerence, wherein they doo commytte none Idolatrye at all. For idolatrye restythe chye-lye in this poynte, to take the creatures of god, not as creatures, but rather as goddis, thyn-  
kyng

Idolatrye.

kyng of them as of the chiefe authours to haue  
 bothe succour and helpe, and soo attybutynge  
 and gpyng that honour, whiche shulde be gy-  
 uen to god, vnto his creatures: this is idolatry,  
 whiche nother in pylgremage, nor honour of  
 saynctes, accordynge as they be amonge chris-  
 tian menne allowed and approuyd, taketh no place  
 at all. For pylgremage I thynke sythe the fyrste  
 institution of Christis churche, hath benne euer  
 iudged a thyng laudable, wherby as by a parte  
 of penaunce, man punyshe his bodye, hath  
 declared his inwarde affecte, ardente loue, and  
 abundant deuotion towarde god, mouyd by  
 the vertues of those saynctes, whome he seketh  
 in peregrination, whose lyues it hath pleased  
 god, by myracles to approue, to the intente that  
 therby christian hartes shulde be mouyd bothe  
 to his honour and gloze, and to the emulation  
 and folowynge of suche vertues and holynesse,  
 as in those saynctes and holy menne were moost  
 notable. And to the intente that menne bysy-  
 tyng the places, where theyr images be, and  
 theyr myracles declared and shewed, shulde the  
 rather be styred and mouyd to haue in honour  
 their vertues: pylgremage (as I sayd) hath euer  
 bene after this maner approuyd, as a thyng to  
 the doctrine of Christ moche agreable. For where  
 as Christe allowed the deede of Magdaleyne,  
 whiche caste moche precious oyntment vpon his  
 feete,

Iohn. 12.

X.ii.



# AN EXHORTATION.

lete, the whyche of somme of his disciples was nothyng approued, he taughte vs a greatte grounde for the admission of all suche inward and abundant deuotion, though the outward deede appere to the worlde a superfluous operation.

Prayenge to  
sayntes.

Coloss. 4.

1. Timo. 2.

And as for prayenge to saintis is a thinge, whiche hath ben long and many yeres receiued both of the greke churche and latyne, not as a thyng to the whiche we are bounden by the expresse commaundement of god, but as a thyng consequent therto, for in scripture example we haue one, to desyre an other to praye for hym, whiche sayncte Doule dyd ofte and many tymes, wherof is gathered consequently to be a thyng lykewys conuenient, to desyre theym, whose vertues are of Christe approued, to praye for vs, that we al together as members of one bodye, maye receyue grace of our heuenly heed. And thus to praye to sayntes in no parte dothe derogate the honour of god. For the praying thus to them is to praye to god, and is nothyng differente in effecte, but to praye to them as of whom we shulde truste as of authours and gyuers of that thyng, whiche we by prayer demaunde and desyre to gette and obtayne. This were by the honour of theym, to plucke downe the honour of god, and playne ydolatrie, and this is forbyd in holy scripture, as the other maner is, as a thyng agreable therto, conueniently receyued, though it be not of high  
neces

1. Timot. 2.

necessite. And so brefely to conclude in this mat-  
 ter, to haue in honour images of saintes, as thin-  
 ges, wherby you may be put in mynde and stirred  
 to the folowynge of their vertues, bothe in lyfe  
 and maners to expresse the same, is no poynte of  
 idolatrye, but amonge chrysten men a thyng of  
 great conueniency to be receyued, lyke as pilgre-  
 mage and prayenge to them also is not to be con-  
 demnyd, but as a thyng wherby we hyghly ho-  
 nour god, to be admyttyd: therby declarynge to  
 hym our humble and meke hartes ful of charite,  
 where euery membre requirynge the helpe of eche  
 other, hangeth vpon that comon heed and foun-  
 tayne of all goodnes. After this maner prayeng  
 to sayntes, hath euer ben receyued of all the anti-  
 quitie, from whose steppes chrysten people, let vs  
 not in euery thinge lyghtly slyppe, but rather fo-  
 lowe them in suche thynges as be good and con-  
 uenient, than without iugement to reiect al thin-  
 ges whiche be of nature indifferent, approuynge  
 onely them whiche be of hye necessitie: and by the  
 expresse word of god to vs in his doctryn taughte,  
 as many of vs doo, whiche is as I haue often  
 sayde, as a common fountayne of the corruption  
 of our iugementes, to the takynge awaie of ma-  
 ny suche thynges, which haue ben of many good  
 men and wyse, stablyshed to the settynge forth of  
 Chrystis doctrine with charytable vnytie. For of  
 this ground it spryngeth also that some men for-  
 bydde vtterly to praye for theyn, the whiche be  
 E.iii. Deade

Prayer for  
 the deade.



# AN EXHORTATION.

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necessite. And so bryefly to conclude in this mat-  
 ter, to haue in honour images of saintes, as thin-  
 ges, wherby you may be put in mynde and stirred  
 to the folowynge of their vertues, bothe in lyfe  
 and maners to expresse the same, is no poynte of  
 idolatrye, but amonge chrysten men a thyng of  
 great conueniency to be receyued, lyke as pilgre-  
 mage and prayenge to them also is not to be con-  
 demnyd, but as a thyng wherby we hyghly ho-  
 nour god, to be admyttyd: therby declarynge to  
 hym our humble and meke hartes ful of charite,  
 where euery membre requiring the helpe of eche  
 other, hangeth vpon that comon heed and foun-  
 tayne of all goodnes. After this maner prayeng  
 to sayntes, hath euer ben receyued of all the anti-  
 quitie, from whose steppes chrysten people, let vs  
 not in euery thynge lyghtly slyppe, but rather fo-  
 lowe them in suche thynges as be good and con-  
 uenient, than without iugement to reiect al thin-  
 ges whiche be of nature indifferent, approuynge  
 onely them whiche be of hye necessitie: and by the  
 expresse word of god to vs in his doctryn taught,  
 as many of vs doo, whiche is as I haue often  
 sayde, as a common fountayne of the corruption  
 of our iugementes, to the takynge awaye of ma-  
 ny suche thynges, which haue ben of many good  
 men and wyse, stablyshed to the settpnge forth of  
 Chyristis doctrine with charytable vnytie. For of  
 this ground it spryngeth also that some men for-  
 bydde vtterly to praye for theym, the whiche be  
 x.iii. deade

Prayer for  
 the deade.



# AN EXHORTATION.

Deed, bycause it is not in scripture conteyned exp-  
 pressely, and bycause whan they departe they go  
 incontinent eyther to heuen or to helle, howe be  
 hit of that they be not sure, nor to the denyng  
 of purgatorie, as I said befoze of scripture, there  
 is noo certayne ground: but to scripture after  
 the sentence of holye fathers, the contrarie is  
 rather agreable. But lette it be, that there were  
 noo purgatorie at all: Thynke not you deere  
 frendes, that it is a conueniente thyng, and to  
 charitie conformable, that euery man shulde de-  
 syre after deathe good to his frende, and by pra-  
 yer to god, to open his lounge mynde, that  
 he boothe in lyfe and also after his deathe con-  
 stantlye euer beareth toward his brother: There  
 was neuer nation so rude and barbarous, that  
 wolde forbidd one to wyshe good to an other  
 bothe a lyue & deed. Wherfore amonge vs chri-  
 sten menne, whiche are sure that our frendes af-  
 ter deathe shall remayne other to payne, or plea-  
 sure, amonge vs I saye to raygne any suche opi-  
 nyon, that we shoulde not praye for theym, and  
 wyshe theym to be partetakers of the good, and  
 not of the euille, apperethe extreme madde-  
 nesse and mooste rude unkyndenesse: specyally  
 seyng that we haue no certaynetye, whether  
 hit please the god to take theym other to payne,  
 or to pleasure. And though that this be trewe,  
 that to the one certaynly, they are by the prouy-  
 dence of god determyned and appoynted, yet  
 we

we therof beyng uncertayne, in desyringe and  
 wysynge to them the best, can not doo but wel,  
 in as moch as we declare therby to god the cha-  
 ritie of our hartes: ye and fether I shall saye to  
 you, though the prayer that we make for them  
 that be deede, shoulde not be to them profitable  
 at all, for as moche as they be other in state of  
 grace or damnation, yet in our prayer I thynke  
 neuer the lesse our mayster dothe deelyte, and ta-  
 kethe to his honour our aboundante deuotion  
 and feruent charytie, as he dyd the oymntment of  
 Mary, whiche was to no man profitable. Ther-  
 fore seynge that beside the consent of many of the  
 auntyent doctours, oure maysters of our rely-  
 gion, the thyng in it selfe appereth so conueni-  
 ent to reason, to humanyte, and aboue al to chri-  
 stian charite, I se no cause why we shuld it so re-  
 secte as a thyng to the doctrine of Christ nothing  
 conforimable, to the whiche vndoubtedly, and to  
 very christian charytie, it is moche agreeable, the  
 which frendes if you also iudge & in harte think,  
 you shall increase amonge your selves brotherlye  
 loue and vnitie, and moche more if some of you  
 wold after the same maner tempere your iudge-  
 mentes in many other thynges of the same sorte,  
 which ouer lyghtly ye condene, bicause they ap-  
 pere to take their groundes of this poppe's au-  
 thorite, of the which though many thynges euyl  
 haue issued & sprong, yet this ca not be denied, but  
 moch good was also to vs deriued fro the same,  
 as



## AN EXHORTATION.

as wel the ground of our religion, as many hol-  
some traditions, as celebratyng of feastes in the  
honour of saintes, and fastynge in the vigiles of  
the same, with other lyke came from these: wher-  
in though there be growen in great abuse, & ouer  
great nombꝛe of holy dayes, yet all without ex-  
ception vtterly to abrogate, makynge no differēce  
nother in holy daye noꝛ fastynge, were nothynge  
commendable, noꝛ to christian disciplyne agreea-  
ble. For these thinges were fyrst institute for holy  
purposes, as fastynge, to tempze the bodily affe-  
ctes and frailtie of fleshe, subduinge it to the spi-  
rite, that so christen hartis myghte with moze li-  
bertie, and moze frely occupie them selves in spi-  
rituall meditation, ye and moze constantly perse-  
uer in heuenly contēplation. And these holy days  
fyrste were institute, to the intent that we thenne  
chiefely callynge to memoꝛye the vertues of the  
saintis, might in those days cal to god by prayer,  
that by his grace and fauour, we myghte studi-  
ously folowe the notable vertues of those sayn-  
tes, to whom the festes were fyrste dedicate: and  
þ in those daies also we being vacant of al world-  
ly exercyse, myght gyue our selves holly to here  
the doctrine of god, therof receyuyng celestiall  
comfozte. For these causes those thynge whiche  
some of you so condemne as mere superstition,  
were vndowtydly fyrste institute, the which if the  
abuse of them in tyme growen in, were taken a-  
way, shulde be great and conuenient meanes to  
the

Fastynge.

Holydayes.

to the setting forth of Christis heuenly doctrine  
and his trewe religion. wherfore these thynges,  
whiche also are approued and euer haue bene of  
all men of notable lernynge and vertue, bitter-  
ly to condempne and reiecte, commeth of an ar-  
rogant and corrupte opinion. For though this  
fastynge, pylgremage, and almesse dede, with all  
other outwarde dedes of mā, be not of them selfe  
sufficient to mans saluation, yet to testifie the in-  
warde faith, without the which we rūne to dam-  
nation, they haue bene euer iudged conueniente  
meanes: in so moche that whan occasion serueth  
thereto, in all christen lyfe they be required of ne-  
cessitie, for the demonstration of charite, and for  
declaracion of obedience to the wyll of god, who  
hath commaunded vs so for to worke, makynge  
vs promyse of euerlastynge lyfe, the whiche we  
shall optayne in so workynge, and yet not by the  
reason of the workes alone, but by the reason of  
fayth & trust gyuen to his promysse, whiche he of  
his goodnes hath to vs made: so þ this is a sure  
trewth & manifest, that we must both fast pray &  
doo almesse dede in charitie, if we wyll haue the  
frute of his promysse, which to the faythful lone  
of hym, he hath promysed surely. These. ii. thynges  
must euer runne together, pure fayth as grounde  
& fundacion, & thā charitable dede, if occasion do  
serue to testifie the same by outward demonstra-  
tion, but at the leeste, to this feythe muste euer be  
ioyned charitable wyll, to worke and to walke in  
them

Faythe and  
workes.

Matt. 19.

Eph. 3.



1. Corin. 14.

Tit. 3.

2. Timot. 1.

Tit. 3.

2. Pet. 1.

Gala. 2.

Matth. 3.

them as in goddis commandment. For if a man  
had dere frendes, al the faith which is in al men,  
and as saynt Poule sheweth most manifestly, of  
that sorte that he myghte therby remoue moun-  
taynes out of their places, yet if he had not toy-  
ned therto a charytable harte and mynde, euer  
prompte and redy to shewe the same in effect and  
outward dede, as occasiō is ministred, that faith  
nothyng shuld to him auayle at all: lyke as con-  
trary, if one man worked all the outwarde wor-  
kes in the worlde, if they were not in fayth roted  
and grounded, to him they shulde nothyng pro-  
fyt no: helpe, so that nother dedes alone, no: yet  
naked faythe without charyte, be not sufficiente  
meanes to bypunge man to his saluation, but cha-  
rytable faythe and faythefull charyte, be requy-  
red of hye necessitie: this is the grounde, this is  
the ende, and in this stondeth the hole perfection  
of all christian religion. Wherefore auoydypnge  
dere frendes the great blunderpng now a daies  
made of faythe and workes, in fewe wordes this  
I shall to you say: If you wyl be of the flocke of  
Christ, and of the nombze of them which be true  
professours of his name, you muste not onely by  
mouthe and in worde pour faythe testifie, but in  
dede the same also to the face of the worlde de-  
clare to his honour and gloze, not indgyng  
pour olone dedes to deserue pour saluation, but  
that euer referring to his onely goodnes & mer-  
cy. This Christ teacheth vs by his owne mouth,  
where

where as he sayeth in his gospell, that suche as  
 by mouth onely calle vnto hym, confessynge his  
 name, shall not by and by entre to the kyngdome  
 of heuen, but all suche as in effecte and in dede  
 fulfyll the wyl of his father, there shall haue place.  
 So that frendes of this you may be assured, that  
 it is not enoughe for vs to saye, I beleue well, &  
 the care not what ye doo. A more pestilent opini-  
 on, & more pernicious to Christis doctrine was  
 neuer. I trowe amonge menne then this, to saye  
 that faythe alone, without charitable workes, is  
 sufficient to mans saluation. For this I wyl say  
 to you of the doctrine of sayncte Paule, that it  
 is nother our fayth, be it neuer so great, nor yet  
 our workes, be they neuer soo many, that can de-  
 serue our saluation, it is the mere goodnes and  
 mercy of god, which shall be our saluation, the whi-  
 ch he of his only goodnes hath promised to giue  
 vs, if we beleue faythfully in hym, and truste in  
 his promysse with faythefull harte, and in out-  
 warde dede obey his commaundement, and walke  
 in the same: soo that as moche as we are bounden  
 to worke as to beleue, & yet nother of them both  
 nor yet bothe of them to gether, be able to de-  
 serue our saluation, but this onely lyeth in the  
 goodnes of god, to whom it hath pleased to make  
 by this promysse, that yf we truste in hym with  
 faythefulle harte vnsynfully, and in outwarde  
 dede folowe his commaundemente without hy-  
 pocrysie, we shall haue euerylastynge lyfe: vnto  
 the



the attenyng wherof is not onely requir'd this  
 faythe alone, but worke also, or wylle to worke,  
 where as lacketh occasion, which before god, who  
 is priuy onely to the inward affect, is al one with  
 the outward worke: so that I save bothe faythe &  
 worke, or as I nowe sayd, that whiche with god  
 equally is taken for worke, be of necessitie requi-  
 red to our saluation, & equally requir'd as well  
 one as the other: faythe alone nakyd withoute  
 workes or wyl to the same, is not sufficient, lyke  
 as workes alone not groundyd in fayth be bitter-  
 ly unprofitable, but to them bothe ioyntly to ge-  
 ther, shor'tely to conclude god of his mere good-  
 nes hath promysed vs saluation, the which we  
 may not of iustice clayme, as deserued of vs, no-  
 ther by faythe nor workes, but onely by the infi-  
 nyte mercyfull goodnes of hym, who to vs wre-  
 ched creatures, and of our self mortal, of his on-  
 ly lyberalite gyueth euerlastyng love and lyfe in  
 immortallite. This we must thynke, this we must  
 iudge, moste chystian people, if we purpose to be  
 of the nombze of them, whiche truly in hart and  
 dede professe the doctrine of Chyste, and as me-  
 bres of one body hange vpon him onely as apon  
 the hede & fountaine of our saluatiō, we must not  
 cōdemne utterly fastyng & prayng & pilgremage,  
 and all outwarde workes, as hipocrisy, but eche  
 one exhorteth other them to doo, euer groundyng  
 them in sure faith, and exercysinge with persp-  
 ctie charitie, we maye not cōdemne withoute re-  
 specte

Roman. 2.

Galatas. 5.

specte, al ceremonies, rites of the church, and  
 tradicions, and bycause they be besyde scripture,  
 nor expessed therein, utterly iudge them to be to  
 Chyistes doctrine contrary and pernicious, but  
 with meke obedience receyvyng them as conue-  
 nient meanes to the stablyng of Chyistes doc-  
 trine, of the great abuses therein euer desyre re-  
 formation, by good order and charitte: we may  
 not condemne lyghtly al ecclesiastical lawes, de-  
 crees, & constitutions, bycause they came out of  
 the popys power, but with discretio such as be  
 good admyttinge, & of the other to desyre abro-  
 gation by common authoritie, to the whiche euer  
 we must be obedient, not repugnyng contrarye  
 by superstition to the altering of suche thynges,  
 which be not groundes of scripture, nor to mans  
 saluation required of necessity, iudgyng therein  
 to reste any popnte of heresie: we may not super-  
 stitiously stycke to mas inuention, and that stur-  
 dely to defende, as though it were the gospel of  
 Chyiste, but euer with obedyence suche thynges  
 wyllyngely receyue, as by common counsell shal  
 appere to the settinge forth of Chyistes doctrine  
 conuenient: we maye not with suche obstinacye,  
 all traditions so defende, that none of them we  
 maye thynke to suffre change or alteration with-  
 out the decay and ruine of Chyistes religion: we  
 maye not so defende all ceremonies and rites of  
 the church, as though they were thynges of that  
 sort, wherein stondeth the some and chiefe groun-



des about heuently doctrine, but euer in all suche thynges, whiche by nature are indifferent, and be not of the expresse commaundemente of god: we must conceyue this iudgement, that when so so euer it shall appere to them, whiche be in authoritye prudente and polytike, any suche thynges to alter and chaunge, as tyme and place require for good polycie, thereto euer to be obedient with mekenes and humilitie, as sone as they be chaunged by common authoritie. In the whiche thynges also we must vse in our iudgementes this temperaunce, theyr neuer to condemne lightly, and with arrogant opinion iudge viterly to be caste away, though they haue ben in vse neuer so longe, vntill the tyme that by common counsaile they be abrogate and iudged to christian pollicie to be nothyng expediente, by them whiche haue of suche thynges perspyre iudgement: the whiche if we do mooste christian people with prudence obserue, we shalle by this meane soo souerme our affectes, and in some partes soo correcte our iudgementes, that as of the one syde we shalle auoyde ablynde supersticion, so we shal of the other syde eschewe all arrogant opinion, and so consequetly some what remedy this common blindenes, which therby is chiefly growen amonge vs, to the great ruine of Christs heuently doctrine, and hys spirituall vnitie. This meane we must folowe and ensewe, if we wyl attayne to our felicitye, of the whiche deffendes mar-

uayle

maye you nothyng at all. For by a certein meane  
the armoure of this hole worlde is conteyned in  
this natural order & beautie: by a meane al thinge  
order and polycye is mayntayned in cittyes and  
to wnes with good ciuilitie: by a meane mannes  
mynde with all kynde of vertue garnyshe, is  
broughte to his naturall perfection and byght:  
And by a meane all trewe religion without im-  
pyete or superstition, is stablyshed and sette  
forthe to goddis honour and gloire in all chry-  
stian natyons and countreys: ye and soo by a  
meane we shall, mooste chrystyan people, chesely  
auoyde this dangerous deuysyn growen in a-  
monge vs, by the reason wherof, some are  
iudged to be of the newe fashyon, and some  
of the olde. For whanne that one seeth an o-  
ther, euer to suche thyng gladdely conforma-  
ble, as by common counsaile is determyned,  
made, and decreed; neuer repugnyng in harte  
thereto, nor yet condempnyng arrogantly all su-  
che thynges as haue beyn receyued longe and  
many yeres withoute discrecyon, but etier aby-  
dyng the sentence of common authoryte, the  
meane tyme frely thereto beinge obedient: when  
euery one I saye this seeth in eche other, I can  
not tell howe any diuision shoulde growe in a-  
mong vs, I can not telle why one shoulde calle  
an other pharisee or yet heretike: If we wold af-  
ter this maner and meane agree in iudgement,  
and



and to all suche thynges as stonde in full au-  
 thoritie, and receyued in common polycpe, euer  
 with mekenes be obedient. I wote not why one  
 shoulde then be called of the new fascion, and an  
 other of the olde, where as superstition vtterly  
 caste away, and troden vnder foote, shoulde haue  
 noo power to blinde mens stomakes, and make  
 them to swarue from suche thynges as be decre-  
 ed by common authoritie, no: yet arrogante o-  
 pinion stopped & tempered after this maner shuld  
 so blinde mens hartes, that they shoulde blynde-  
 ly condemne all suche thynges, as haue benne  
 iudged ryght conuenient meanes for the stably-  
 shynge of polytyke order and chrystian ciuily-  
 tie. I can not thanne telle why one of vs thus  
 shoulde misiudge an nother, where as all we  
 theen as chrystian brytherne, agreynge in the  
 groundes of scripture, and in suche thynges as  
 be of necessitie, shuld receyue with comon assent  
 al suche thynges as were ones stablyshed by co-  
 mon counsaile and good iugemente. Wherfore  
 mooste chrystian people, if you wyl be the trewe  
 professours of Chyristis doctrine, wherof ye seme  
 moche studious, if you wyl be the very membes  
 of Chyristis body, wherof ye are mooste desirouse,  
 if ye wyl intoy quietenes here in this lyfe, and  
 hereafter euerlastynge pleasure, suffre not this  
 diuision of hartes and myndes latelpe growen  
 in amonge you further to take foote caste awaye  
 of rancour and malice one agaynst a nother, suffre  
 not

not this superstitiō longer to reygne in your hat-  
 tes, caste out of your stomakes all arrogant opi-  
 nion, wherby you condemne all auncient custo-  
 mes and antiquite, and euer to such thynges as  
 by common counsaile are decreed, with meke hat-  
 tes be obedient in concord and vnytie. And feare  
 you not, that any suche thynges here amonge vs  
 other hath or shall be decreed, whiche iustly may  
 appere contrary to the groundes of scripture, or  
 to our saluatiō. For of this dote frendes we may  
 reioyce aboute all other nations, that a pryncce we  
 haue and a heede of suche iudgement & knowledge  
 in letters, and of suche perfection and goodnes  
 of nature, that as by his clere iudgement he se-  
 eth what is beste, so by his synguler goodnes he  
 wyll neuer suffer any thyng to be ordeyned and  
 decreed here in oure countrey, which may in any  
 parte sownde contrarie to Christis doctrine, & to  
 that heuenly simplicity: he wyll neuer suffer any  
 suche thyng here to take place, which may haue  
 any colour of the obscurynge of Christis glory:  
 he wyll neuer suffer any thyng here to passe with  
 authoritie, whiche may seme to be repugnant to  
 polypke order and to good christian ciuilitie: but  
 in all thynges, he beinge heede of our churche in  
 our nation, settinge forth this meane before you-  
 ched, wyll conforme him selfe to the wyl of hym,  
 who is the supreme heede of all churches, and of  
 euery fapthfull congregation.

And as touching the acte late stablyshed of  
 Z the



# A N E X H O R T A T I O N .

The supreme  
seed.

the supreme hede here of our churche, whiche appereth to many of you straunge and newe, bycause of the lōge custome of many yeres. If you consyder with your selfe the nature of the thing, as hit is indede, there is in hit nothyng nother strange nor new. For what strangenes is this, a hole congregacyon and perfyte, as this is of our nation, to electe and chose theym a heed po lytyke with free libertye, whiche may with his hyghe wysedome directe and redresse all suche thynges as pertayne vnto christian polycye: This hath benne euer common and in vse, sythe the fyrste institution of Christis churche. And thoughe that chysten pryncis and nations haue longe stonde in this polycye and obedience to Rome, yet to that they be not bounden, that the defecti- on frome it and disobedience shulde induce sus- pition of heresye or schisme, whyche are thenne onely to be imputed, whan any pryuate manne or holle nation slippethe frome suche groundes of scripture, as be of necessitie requyred to man- nes saluation: of the whiche sorte the defectyon frome the poppe the authoryte is not to be iudged nor thought. And this thyng moste manifest- ly prouethe a lawe made of the mooste Christian emperour Justinyan, wherin he gyuyng prui- ledge to Constantynople, openly decreeth, that churche no more to hange of the see of Rome, as it seemed to doo frome the tyme of Constan- tyne: but that the archebyschoppe there shulde be chosen

Auth. de ec-  
cle. tit. et  
prim.

chosen of his owne church, hauinge authoritie  
 also to create & institute other byshops vnder the  
 same see, without runnyng to Rome for autho-  
 rite. wherby you maye moste clerely se, both that  
 this superiortie of Rome, was not at that tyme  
 iudged to be of suche necessite, and of the lawe of  
 god, as nowe many thynke: and that the empe-  
 rour also was hede of that church, hauinge ful  
 authorite to order all suche thynges as pertey-  
 ned to chzistian polycy, as by many other lawes  
 whiche he made, it is moste manifest. Wherfore  
 frendes our pꝛince here, who is of no lesse autho-  
 rite in this our church of Englande, than was  
 the Emperour Justynian at Constantynople,  
 this authoritie of Rome so to bypꝛinge to order,  
 and as supꝛeme heed in the polycie of our church,  
 this thyng to stablish, nede not to you appere  
 nother straunge nor newe, seynge the lyke hath  
 ben done of chzisten emperours before this longe  
 and many yeres. Feare ye not therfore mooste  
 chzistian people, to this acte to our nation soo  
 good and pꝛofytable, of harte to gyue obedience,  
 the whiche doubt ye not, but god shal so gouerne  
 by his pꝛouidēce, that it shal go forth to his glo-  
 ry, comforte & pꝛofyt both of the present age & of  
 al the posterite. And euer haue you this in mind,  
 that to all such thynges as is decreed by common  
 counsell and authoritie here in our nation, you  
 that be vnlearned and ignorant, not hauing your  
 consciēce formed with lyght and knowlege, you



Tit. 3.

If we are bounden by the lawe of god thereto of  
 hart to gyue obedience, the which shall be to you  
 euer a iust defence, wherby you shall auoyde all  
 blame and damnable repzoze, bothe befoze man  
 here in polycie, and befoze god hereafter whan  
 you shall comme to counte befoze his maiestie.  
 For you that be vnlearned ar not bounden to ser-  
 che with curiositie the controuersie of lawes, but  
 euer in all suche as be not playne and euydently  
 contrarpe to goddis commaundemente, you are  
 bounden to conferre your iugementes to theirs,  
 whiche be in auctoritie, and beare rule in cōmon  
 polycie. And so after this maner moste chxistian  
 people, if we foyme our cōsciēces with the know-  
 ledge of thynges, indifferently weyinge them as  
 they be in their owne nature, puttyng discrete  
 difference betwixt such thynges as be of necessi-  
 te, and suche as hange in worldly polycpe, euer  
 beinge obedient to al suche thynges as be ordey-  
 ned by common counsell and auctorite, where as  
 they euidentely repugne not to the groundes of  
 scripture and thynges of necessitie to our saluati-  
 on: if we If we this with mekenes dispose our  
 hartes and inwarde affectes, castynge away all  
 arrogancy, and blynde superstition, we shal vn-  
 dowtydly auoyde all suche diuision as latelpe by  
 corrupt iudgement was entrynge amonge vs, &  
 by loue and charitie coupled together, we shal a-  
 monge our selves both restore & conserue this he-  
 auenly vnite, the very trewe foundatin of grounde  
 of

of Christis religion, and of all good and iust polycie: and then shall we as in one course all runnyng to gether in oone faythe, as members of one body, of our heuenly heed onely loke for our saluation: then shall not we feare the corruption of iudgement broughte in by our blynde maysters, wherewith we longe haue bene trowblyd: For thenne shall we soone se, whiche is the good preacher, and whiche is the euill, of whome here nowe somewhat to speake this place requirerh. Howe be it this I wyl saye in the begynnyng, that if we prudently consider the meane before touched betwixte false and bayne superstition, & proude and arrogant opinion, harde it shall not be for vs to perceyue the trewe preacher of Christis heuenly doctryne and trewe relygion. For than shall we lyghtly see, who swaruerh frome the groundes of scripture, and preacheth mans inuention, and who condemneth all such thinge without discretion: than shall we see, who preacheth superstition, and who couertely byngeth in the contempt of religion: then shal we se who with charitie suffereth mannes constitution, and who without charitie preacheth therof all abrogation: who gyueth to moche to mannes tradition, and who all tourneth by, without exception: than shall we se who preacheth Christe and his lawe with mekenes and mercy, and who preacheth mannes lawe with crafte and austeritie: For soone is he spied of theym, whiche haue any

The trewe  
precher.



# AN EXHORTATION.

Ioan. 15.

judgement, which is the true preacher of Christe  
and religious, from hym that is the preacher of  
the worlde arrogant and seditious. For chari-  
tie, as hit is the sure marke of all the chrystian  
flocke, so it is moch moze the sure note and signe  
of him that shulde trewely preache Christis do-  
ctrine. For yf his lyfe fyyste, whiche is chye of  
all, and also his worde to that do not sownde,  
if to that it do not agree, you maye boldely con-  
clude bothe hym and his doctrine of all chrystian  
hartes to be eschewed, and to be auoyded none  
otherwyle than herelye. And yet ferther if you  
perceyue hym, ceremonies traditions and rytes  
of the church so to mapnteyn as thinges necessa-  
ry to the saluation of mā, ye oꝛ contrary them vt-  
terly to damne, as thynge pernycious and con-  
trary to Christis religion: than make you a sure  
conclusion, that he lacketh moch discretion, and  
is other folyschely superstitious, oꝛ els arrogant-  
ly seditious, and no mete preacher of Christis doc-  
trine. who euer with charite precheth such thyn-  
ges as perteyne to goddis gloꝛy, euer most studi-  
ously settyng forth the same, & out of the woꝛ-  
kes of nature, wherein y goodnes of god spredeth  
her self, the true preacher euer whē he therein behol-  
deth, somewhat he piketh, wherby he moued, de-  
clareth goddes honour and glory of his name: &  
lykewyle out of the ceremonies, vled in Christis  
churche, the whiche withoute good teachyng  
are but dumbe sygnes, he euer gadzeth some-  
what

Roman. 2.

Matt. 15.  
2. Theſ. 2.

Coloff. 3.

What, wherby he induceth manne to the memorie of goddis benefyte and mercy. But aboue al the trewe preacher euer besply endeuoꝛeth hym selfe aboute the groundes of scripture, and suche as be of necessitie necessarie vnto mannes saluation, theym to stable in all chꝛystian hartes, and of theym to make sure ground and fundation: And as for all other thynges, whyche stonde in mannes polycye: he euer therin induceth and teacheth obedience to common authoritie, nothyng agaynste the same superstitiously noꝛ arrogantly defendynge, noꝛ yet all thyng besyde the same arrogantly condemnynge: but euer in all his preachynge and teachynge he setteth before his eyes, as chiefe ende, concord and vnitie, vnto the whiche he euer directeth hym selfe, and his oracyon with prudente simplicitie, auoydynge all diuisyon, whiche is the mother of all confusion: and so atte the laste inducynge the contempte of these worldly thynges vayne and traunscitorie, he perswadeth the feruent loue and desyre of thynges euerlasting, the whiche are stedfast, sure, and stable, and also are to vs promysed, of the mere goodnes of god, if that we wylle with sure faythe and truste of the obteynynge therof be euer to his commaundement confoꝛmable and obediente. This teacheth he chiefly, whiche is the trewe and perfyte preacher of Chꝛistis doctrine, whom to discern and iudge, shall be nothyng harde to you dere frendis



## A N E X H O R T A T I O N .

freendes, noꝝ of great difficultie, if you call suche thynges as are befoꝛe toꝛched to your iugemēt and memoꝛy . Wherfoꝛe moſte chꝛiſtian people here nowe I wyll make an ende and trouble you no moꝛe with ferther communycation .

**A**fter that you haue harde and ryght wel perceyued the greatte blyndenes reygninge here amonge vs in our owne nation, partely by ſuperſtition in long proceſſe of tyme roted and growē in, and partly by arrogāt opiniō, by the lightnes of iugement lately conceyued , I doubt not but you wyl conſider with your ſelfes the corꝛuptions of iugementes ſuccedyng the ſame: by the reaſon wherof yche one corꝛuptly miſiudgeth other, and ſo no man of harte loueth his chꝛiſtian bzother: I doubt not but ye will conſider what diuiſion in the partes of this miſticall bodye enſueth the ſame, to the great bzacke of ciuyle concoꝛde and cūyne of all ſpiritual vnitie: I doubt not but ye wyl conſyder the confuſion in polycꝛy, whiche is annexed to the ſame, by the pꝛouydence of god and of hyghe neceſſitie, and al this puttyng befoꝛe your eyes, I doubt not but ye wyl ſuche blyndenes, ſuche corꝛuption of iugement, ſuche diuiſion and bzake of vnitie, with all dyligence, all labour, and ſtudy endeuer your ſelfes vtterly to auoyde and flee: I doubt not but ye wyl with ryght iudgement diſcerne the groundes of ſcripture, whiche are but fewe in nombꝛe and open to euery mannes eye, from ſuche thynges as hange

in worldly policie, and be of no necessitie, but as  
thynges indifferent, with good discretion accor-  
dyng to their nature in tyme and place requyre  
alteration: and so then I shall truste, that to all  
suche thyng as shall be stablyshed by comon au-  
thoritie, you wyl be obedient with free harte and  
without superstition: than I shall trust that you  
wyl neuer slyp from the groundes of scripture,  
and thynges of necessite to mannes saluation by  
any arrogant and lyght opinion, but great hope  
I shal cōceyue, that we al without diuision with  
concord & vnite, shal rīne after one fashon with-  
out noting one an other eyther pharisee or here-  
tike, papist or scismaticke: gret hope I haue y then  
in this worldly life and politike, we shal in amite  
and mekenes euer be obedient to all suche thin-  
ges as shall be thought by our polptyke hede to  
the common quietenes conuenient: greate hope  
I haue that then we lighted by the spirit of god,  
lyuinge in a spirituall lyfe with heuenly vnite,  
all worldly thynges and transitoꝝe dispysed as  
bayne, shall of our spirituall hede onely loke for  
our feltytite: than I truste we shall as membes  
of one body coupled to gether with the heuenly  
knotte of charytie, vsyng this lyfe as a meane  
to lyfe, and as a pylgrimage, with one consent,  
sure faythe, and certayne hope, onely by the be-  
nefite of our heuenly heed, & by his mere good-  
nes and lyberalitie, and nothyng by our owne  
merytes, loke to attayne the trewe lyfe with sure  
com-



# AN EXHORTATION.

Matth. 18.

comforte and ioye, wherof this is but as a shadowe, and an image: the whiche yf you doo moste chzistian people, this I dare say and boldly to you affirme, that all be it we neuer hereafter knowe nother pope no: cardynall, no no: yet here of counsel generall of all chzistian nations, yet may we, liuyng together in faythfull loue & charitable vnite, lighted by the spirit of god and his heuenly doctrine, hangynge onely vpon his benefyte, passe this lyfe in mooste pure and perfecte chzistianitie. This we haue expessed by the mouthe of our mayster Chziste in his gospelle, who surely promyseth this to euerie multitude gathered together in his name, & to euerie faithfull congregation, that whan so euer they assemble to gyther for his gloze, with perfite faith and truste in hym, with charitie demaundynge lyght of truthe to passe this lyfe withal to his pleasure and honour, they shall neuer lacke knowledge of suche thyng, which shalbe necessary to their saluation, they shall neuer lacke grace to defend them from all suche thyng as shall lede them to everlastyng damnation. Wherefore most chzistian people, seinge that the benefyt of god is so open vnto vs, and the lyght of his holy spirite so common, that no man is excluded from it, but he onely that so wyll: let vs not drownyd in vayne pleasure, by our owne neglygence suffre our selfe to be depriued of this goodnes: let vs not being corrupt with worldly affection suffre our selfe to  
fal

fall from the dignite of our nature, and runne to  
our owne distruction: let vs not suffre our selfe  
by any pestilent & diuellshe dyuision lose the in-  
finite benefite of Christis passion: but let vs with  
one fayth in hym in perfyrt con corde & vnitie with  
sure truste and hope hange vppon him as vppon  
the only hede of al christianitie: let vs euery one  
supportyng & bearyng the imbecillite and weke-  
nes of other, echeone be glad to admonyshe his  
christian brother, let vs euery one be gladde to  
helpe and succour eche other with charitie and  
pure affecte: and than vndoutedly we shall bothe  
in this life haue quietnes of minde and tranquil  
lytie, & here after haue the fruition of suche ioye  
and comforte as god by his prouydence hath or-  
deyned to the nature of man in immortalitie, the  
whiche I beseeche him, of whom cometh al light,  
so to lyghte vs in this lyfe, that we maye all as  
membres of one bodye, hereafter knytte to our  
heuenly heed, enioy comonly.

FINIS.

LONDINI IN AEDIBVS THO-  
MAE BERTHELETI  
REGII IMPRES-  
SORIS EX-  
CVSA.  
CVM PRIVILEGIO.

*See Herbert's Ames i, 460. There is no date.*



AN EXHIBITION  
of the  
Dignities of the  
Church and State  
in the  
City of London  
and the  
County of Middlesex  
in the  
Year 1711



THE  
S. Q. R. 27. 1711  
O. M. S. 1711  
C. M. P. R. I. V. I. L. E. G. I. O.

